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The American University in Cairo
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

The Interpretation of Islamic Art and Architecture of Cairo in European Paintings in the 19th Century

A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts

By
Heba Sheta

Under the supervision of
Dr. Bernard O’Kane

December/2017

The American University in Cairo

The Interpretation of Islamic Art and Architecture of Cairo in European Paintings in the 19th Century

A Thesis Submitted by

Heba Sheta

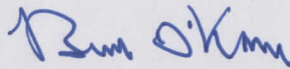
To the Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations

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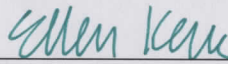
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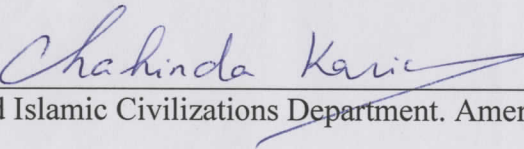
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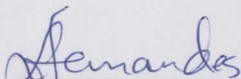
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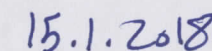


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Dept. Chair


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Dedication

To my sweethearts, Jamila and Layla. My love will follow you wherever you go.

To my beloved husband, Achraf al-Gheriany, for the love, care and sacrifices
you make every day.

To my mother, Sue, for everything she taught me.

Acknowledgment

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Bernard O’Kane for his guidance and patience throughout the years of my study. I would also like to thank Dr. Ellen Kenney for inspiring me with the idea of my thesis when I attended her course of “On Display”; this is how I became interested in the idea of exhibiting and collecting art objects. I am grateful that Dr. Chahinda Karim was one of my thesis readers, I benefited from her experience and knowledge. I must express my gratefulness to Dr. Dina Bakhoun for she inspired me to explore travel books of the 19th century in the Rare Books and Special Collections Library at AUC.

Professors Tarek Swelim and Maximiliane Zoller deserve special thanks for their support and insights. I would also like to thank Ola Seif, curator of the photographic collections in the Rare Books Library for her assistance and guidance.

I am very fortunate to have met prominent scholars in Arabic and Islamic civilizations at the ASTENE Twelfth Biennial Conference in Norwich in summer 2017. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Caroline Williams and Dr. Briony Llewellyn. I have benefited immensely from their discussions and advice. Special thanks to Dr. Mercedes Volait for receiving me at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and for the precious conversation we had about travelers in Cairo.

Special thanks to all my friends and classmates in the department of Islamic Art and Architecture at AUC for the fruitful and humorous moments we spent together throughout my years of study. Special thanks to Dalia al-Nashar and Amina Karam for the conversations and for their accompaniment to sites while writing my thesis. I owe special thanks to Mrs. Marwa Sabri for her continuous help and support.

This thesis would have never been completed without the help and encouragement of my friends and family especially my mother, Suzen Ali, and my brother, Amr Sheta, who took care of my daughters during my late classes. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my husband, Achraf el-Gheriany, and my little daughters, Jamila and Layla, for their love and patience. Finally, I would like to dedicate this paper to the soul of my father who passed away long time ago. I wish he was here to see it.

The exposure of European travelers to Islamic art and architecture
of Cairo in the 19th Century

Abstract

After the French expedition to Egypt in 1798, travelers tempted to discover this newly revealed land. European orientalist painters, when in Cairo, encountered an exotic culture. They documented Islamic architecture, as well as religious and social traditions and rituals. Their paintings became as *tableaux vivants* such as the oriental settings in universal fairs in the 19th century. These painters could be classified into two different groups. On the one hand, a group of painters focused on the documentation of Islamic monuments with their decorative and architectural features. Most of these European painters resided in Egypt for many years, and sometimes worked for the state. They compiled their paintings in volumes such as the collection of *Egypt and Nubia* by David Roberts, *L'art arabe* by Prisse d'Avennes, *Architecture arabe, ou, monuments du Caire* by Pascal Coste and *The Illustrations of Cairo* by Robert Hay. On the other hand, another group of painters represented religious and social traditions of the Muslims they encountered in Cairo. Local inhabitants became the focal point in the paintings of this group. They are embedded into an Islamic setting. This latter was used to convince the Western audience with their perception of the Oriental lifestyle, or sometimes was modified to fit the represented portraits. Some of the painters of this group had commonly a short stay in Egypt. Usually, their paintings were not compiled in volumes. They aimed to display their paintings for sale in le Salon de Paris and the Royal Academy; thus, they were exhibited separately. Among them are Jean-Léon Gérôme, John Frederick Lewis, Henri-Léopold Lévy and Le Comte du Nouy.

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Chapter I - Introduction

The French Expedition to Egypt, Reasons and Impact

Since the eighteenth century - the age of Enlightenment - Egypt had been a source of inspiration for European philosophers and scientists. The charm of classic Egypt haunted their spirits, and they considered it the origin of civilization;¹ yet the knowledge of Egyptian society and geography was still obscure. In 1798 General Bonaparte decided to lead an army to conquer Egypt. Bonaparte had a greater vision; since the defeat of the Seventh Crusade led by Charles IX in 1250, taking power over the Orient was a French Imperial dream.²

In 1740, Britain and France represented the most powerful empires in Europe. They fought, with their allies, in India and America. This Anglo-French War had been suspended upon a truce, but the Seven Years' War between 1756 and 1763 was inevitable. The war stripped France of its strength while Britain became the major maritime and colonial power in the world. The detestable politics of Louis XV's government and passive public opinion contributed to the disastrous state of France. Nevertheless, British imperialism thrived thanks to its industrial and commercial development.³

The industrial revolution motivated Westerners to conquer the East. The non-Western world offered a market for industrial products, and a rich source of raw materials including textiles, coal and iron. Moreover, it was of major importance to provide a cheap labor force, workers who could not seek high payments for their particular skills.⁴ The peoples of the non-Western world offered the labor force required for industrial advancement. During the seventeenth century, industrialization was characterized by changes which included factories, investors who provided capital and consumers who eagerly accepted the machine-made

¹ Murat and Weill, *L'expédition d'Egypte*, 14-5.

² Ibid, 16.

³ Petit, *Histoire universelle* 3:427.

⁴ Stearns, *The Industrial Revolution*, 33-4.

products. By the early nineteenth century, industry became well advanced when combined with science. In addition, industry promoted European commercialization which, by the eighteenth century onwards, generated important changes in banking.⁵

The industrial revolution emerged in Europe, but it took shape in Britain in particular.⁶ According to Stearns, “national banking systems were established in England and several other countries which facilitated nationwide marketing and thus expanded the opportunities for manufacturing and sales”.⁷ In addition, the industrial revolution in Britain was tied to a huge development in transportation to carry products and raw materials to markets and to factories. Roads were improved together with the canal system. Railways and steam-driven ships had also been invented and developed for wider communication.⁸ Consequently, Britain monopolized new processes; hence, it led the world’s industrialization.

The leading role of Britain in world industry and commerce provoked France to try to suppress Britain’s power in India and control the trade routes, and to develop an economic and political interest with the Levant. For the French administration, Egypt offered an ideal strategic position to attain dominance of the non-Western world.⁹ François Charles-Roux, a French businessman, historian and diplomat,¹⁰ described the importance of Suez for imperial countries, and the beginning of the idea of connecting Africa and Asia via the Suez Canal; thus, improving trade. Moreover, Egypt offered a fertile land, namely the valley of the Nile together with a temperate climate for agriculture.¹¹ In July 1797, the French prince Talleyrand, a politician and a diplomat, prepared a memoir and read it in public before the

⁵ Ibid, 34-5.

⁶ Gérando, *The Observation*, 18.

⁷ Stearns, *The Industrial Revolution*, 35

⁸ Ibid, 30-1.

⁹ Murat and Weill, *L’expédition d’Egypte*, 32.

¹⁰ “François Charles-Roux”, accessed 18 September, 2017. François Charles-Roux was born in Marseilles in 1879. After World War II, he strongly supported the French colonial Empire, especially in Morocco. He was the President of the Suez Canal Company from 1948 to 1956.

¹¹ Charles-Roux, *L’Angleterre et l’expédition* 1:4.

members of the French National Institute. The memoir intended to illustrate the advantages of occupying new exotic countries, one of which was Egypt. Talleyrand noted that a French establishment in temperate countries would be beneficial for industry.¹² Bonaparte addressed the French Directory stating that the occupation of Egypt would destroy the British;¹³ nevertheless, being ruled by an Ottoman viceroy, Egypt was politically dependent on the Ottoman Empire. It was necessary to remove Egypt from Ottoman authority.¹⁴ In an attempt to increase French knowledge of Egypt, a report had been submitted to the Directory explaining that the execution of an expedition was guaranteed. Moreover, Talleyrand argued that the French Republic had no intention to act against the Sublime Porte in Constantinople; therefore, the Mamluks would be the only enemies that the French would have to encounter.¹⁵

The discussions of the execution of the expedition of Egypt show that France hoped both to occupy Egypt and start the digging of the Suez Canal; steps towards the defeat of the British in India.¹⁶ However, in 1807, the British fleet landed in Alexandria as a consequence of the French occupation. Their presence in Egypt guaranteed the protection of their Indian colony and the Suez isthmus from any further French threat.¹⁷

The 1800s in Europe witnessed the emergence of the observation of other peoples; those living at remote parts of the world.¹⁸ *La Société des observations de l'homme*, founded at the end of 1799 by a young French writer and pedagogue called Louis-François Jauffret, represented a preliminary idea of social anthropology, and it attracted a group of talented men. Earlier, Jauffret had compiled a series of accounts regarding the natural, moral and political history of mankind which had been read in public but were never published; but

¹² Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne* 5:219-21.

¹³ Ibid, 223.

¹⁴ Murat and Weill, *L'expédition d'Egypte*, 16-7.

¹⁵ Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, 226-7.

¹⁶ Ibid, 228.

¹⁷ Charles-Roux, *L'Angleterre et l'expédition*, i-ii.

¹⁸ Gérando, *The Observation*, 1-2.

these were not an adequate substitute for fieldwork. Hence, Jauffret later founded *La Société* to promote anthropological fieldwork of all kinds.¹⁹ The members of *La Société* embarked on expeditions to various lands around the world to observe and study the “others”. Joseph-Marie Degérando, a young philosopher from Lyons, provided *La Société* with a memoir to serve as guidance during the expedition to Australia; his account was considered as a capital work of anthropology. Degérando explained how important it was to learn and understand the language of alien people to be able to observe them. In addition, he stated that other things in a society should be recorded besides the language, such as trophies, civil and religious practices and dances. These were just as meaningful as words. Moreover, Degérando introduced the study of man in society, “a new order of research”, which considered and encompassed political, military, legal, economic, moral and religious matters.²⁰

Some voyages coincided with the French expedition to Egypt such as the voyage of the French captain Nicolas-Thomas Baudin to Australia. The preparations for the project started in August 1798, and Baudin finally set sail in 1800.²¹ These expeditions reveal another motive for the expedition of Bonaparte, namely to explore foreign lands for anthropological observations on the one hand, and to “ameliorate the lot of Savages”, or the non-Westerners, on the other. According to Darquier, the agent of armaments of *la Société*, the civilization of the Savages would result from the visit that the French were about to make.²² It is with a similar Western point of view towards non-Western peoples that Bonaparte prepared his army to conquer Egypt in 1798. He brought not only soldiers and commanders, but also scientists, engravers, artists and archaeologists to explore the foreign land and observe its people. An impressive research was executed under his orders, and was published through the Imperial printhouse. It is a compendium that encompassed Ancient

¹⁹ Ibid, 7.

²⁰ Ibid, 2, 3, 4.

²¹ Ibid, 7, 9, 10.

²² Ibid, 24.

Egyptian material culture, natural history including botanical, zoological and mineral specimens of all kinds together with medieval religious and secular architecture, maps, craftsmanship, costumes, numismatics, instruments and many other things. Hence, *La description de l’Egypte* can be considered a masterpiece of scientific research. Although the mission of the French military failed because of the British awakening, and the Ottoman-Russian resistance,²³ the publication of *La description de l’Egypte* continued until the last volume in 1829. Consequently, the French expedition to Egypt and the Middle East tempted European travelers to discover the newly revealed culture.

European painters, when in Cairo, encountered an exotic culture. On the one hand, they acted as collectors or amateurs of art objects. They painted the extraordinary architecture, but to add atmosphere to their paintings they included local inhabitants. Therefore, they got a “piece of art” from this exotic land. Early representations developed over the years. For example, the French painter, Louis-François Cassas, took sketches of the Sultan Hasan complex and the Gates of Cairo when he visited the city in 1785. A few decades later, representations of Islamic architecture developed significantly in the work of European artists such as Pascal Coste and Prisse d’Avennes.²⁴ On the other hand, like universal fairs of the nineteenth century, some paintings of European travelers served the politics of colonialism. Çelik argued that the display of foreign possessions affirmed “the colonizing society’s racial superiority”, and the exhibition of colonized people was essential to make the display alive and give an atmosphere to the monuments on display.²⁵

Çelik reported that, in the nineteenth century, universal fairs served to popularize and publicize new discoveries of anthropology and ethnography. These discoveries were set as *tableaux vivants* in these spectacles in which local inhabitants performed traditional activities

²³ Charles-Roux, *L’Angleterre et l’expédition*, 64.

²⁴ Volait, “Amateurs français”, 311.

²⁵ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 18.

within an authentic setting.²⁶ She stated that a display of indigenous people in pavilions, and in Oriental sections in particular, served to represent their various anthropological origins.²⁷ She argued that these authentic people acted as subjects of research for Western audiences to observe. Hence, these displays were as scientific as the language used to describe them.²⁸ Nevertheless, colonialism and Imperialism are out of the scope of this paper, and they require further research.

In the next two chapters, I will discuss the work of European artists during the nineteenth century who represented Cairene Islamic art and architecture. In these chapters, I suggest classifying these artists into two groups. The first consists of those early European painters who were among artists who had an early encounter of Islamic art and architecture in Cairo. This group focused on the architectural aspect of the monument, and attempted, in their lithographs, to “collect” a picture of the extraordinary historical buildings. David Roberts, for example, was the first British draughtsman to depict the Middle East.²⁹ But how accurate and reliable are their representations?

Noticeably, these artists were influenced by European style, and, in many cases, this influence was mirrored in their representations. David Roberts, for example, in the representation of the sanctuary of al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh, observed that the interior recalls the Roman style, particularly in the springing of the arches from the columns. Roberts argued that the marble columns together with the capitals of various forms that support the ceilings and the arches of the mosque resembled those of the basilicas in Rome with spolia from Roman temples such as St. John Lateran and Sta. Maria Maggiore.³⁰ Moreover, he was influenced by European neo-classic or romantic school of art, to which he belongs. Therefore,

²⁶ Ibid, 18; Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 67.

²⁷ Ibid, 17.

²⁸ Ibid, 31.

²⁹ Tromans, “Introduction”, 19.

³⁰ Roberts, *Egypt and Nubia*, 251.

the sanctuary was stretched, and mirrored an impression of grandeur. Prisse d'Avennes, the French Egyptologist and anthropologist, argued that Islamic architectural features recall Gothic style.³¹ Pascal Coste, the French architect, made a similar observation, and this was reflected in the decoration of monuments he depicted as will be discussed further. More interestingly, he argued that the Gothic style resulted from Islamic, especially the Mamluk style which is characterized by its monumentality.³² In addition, Coste was influenced by his background as an architect in the school of Fine-Arts. This could be noticed in the execution of lithographs in which he made an “ideal” interpretation of what the monument should have looked like rather than its actual status.³³ Hence, many of his depictions were fabricated.

On the other hand, the awareness of visual documentation of Islamic monuments in Egypt was almost absent. Works of nineteenth century European artists served as references. Coste was among those artists who made a significant contribution to the preservation of this built heritage. He was assigned by the viceroy of Egypt to make a documentation of Islamic most important monuments of Cairo. In addition, upon the foundation of the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* in 1881, many of the monuments were endangered, or totally disappeared. The Comité relied on Coste's drawings in the preservation of some monuments such as the dome of Qaytbay which was already non-extant, and the staircase of the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, especially since the drawings of *La description de l'Egypte* were not as “sincere” as those of Coste.³⁴ On the other, some orientalist travelers referred to Coste's engravings to illustrate their accounts. Among them was Edward Lane for his travel account titled *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the*

³¹ Prisse d'Avennes, *Arab Art*, 109.

³² Coste, *Architecture arabe*, 27.

³³ Coste, *Toutes les Egypte*, 123.

³⁴ Ibid, 124.

Modern Egyptians published in London in 1836,³⁵ and to which descriptions of Egyptian habits in this paper will be referred.

This group of painters compiled their work of art in volumes such as the collection of *Egypt and Nubia* by David Roberts, *L'art arabe* by Prisse d'Avennes, *Architecture arabe, ou, monuments du Kaire* by Pascal Coste and *The Illustrations of Cairo* by Robert Hay. It is worth mentioning that the painters of this type merged with Egyptian society having resided in Egypt for several years. Some worked for the Egyptian government; thus, they became familiar with the new culture and traditions. Despite their different backgrounds and fields of interest, this type of orientalist painter regarded Cairene Islamic architecture and local inhabitants with admiration and appreciation. Sometimes, their representation and the attached text have some deficiencies; however, they could be a reliable reference for conservation or documentation if the monument was endangered or demolished.

On the other hand, a second type of European orientalist painter focused on depicting the exotic religious and social traditions they encountered in Egypt, in Cairo in particular. Figural representation is the focal point of their paintings which they embedded into an Islamic setting. These were “professional” artists who came to the Orient to seek new materials to be engraved and sold separately or within a collection such as travel books.³⁶ Moreover, these artists sought fame by displaying different subject matters, or by exhibiting their country’s imperial power. Their work was received and appreciated by European audiences whether exhibited in the Salon de Paris or the Royal Academy. Noticeably, these painters convinced Western audiences with their representation by studying the details of the setting accurately, so that the product would reflect an Oriental “reality, or “pseudo- realist”. This could be viewed in the work of the French Orientalist, Jean-Léon Gérôme’s paintings of

³⁵ Ibid, 125.

³⁶ Ackerman, *Les Orientalistes*, 12.

religious subjects,³⁷ for example, the call to prayer, prayer in the mosque, in tombs, or on the rooftops.³⁸ Yet these architectural details could be combined to create a “new” setting to serve their personal interpretations such as the representations of the harem in residential houses of Cairo by the British painter, John Frederick Lewis that shall be discussed later in chapter three, besides, selections from Goodall, Frank Dillon and Vincenzo Marinelli.

In contrast to the first type, this group of painters usually did not gather their illustrations in books. They aimed to display their paintings for sale in le Salon de Paris and the Royal Academy; thus, they were exhibited separately.

It is indispensable to use photographs from the nineteenth century and the present-day to make comparisons and assess the accuracy of European representations. Most of the photographs used in this paper will be from K.A.C. Creswell personal collection together with other photographic collections from Nasser Rabbat, Pascal Sebah and others. Sometimes, reference to the Comité Bulletins was important to analyze the architectural and decorative details of monuments.

³⁷ Nochlin, “The Imaginary”, 37.

³⁸ Warner, “The Question of Faith”, 35-6.

Chapter II

Cairene Islamic art and architecture in context: Recording the monuments

European painters of this group were impressed by Islamic architecture that they encountered during their visits to Cairo. They made Islamic monuments the focal point of their drawings. The result was a documentation of these historical buildings; yet there are variations in the accuracy of their representations. These variations could be in size and proportions of the painted monument, or changes of details from the painter's imagination. These variations occur because painters were taking sketches on the spot, and these would be enhanced later in their ateliers. Some painters had helpers who may have never been to the site to execute the work. Therefore, the final product could be different than its original appearance. The modification in the monument could also be due to the painter's personal taste, or European influence as discussed in the previous chapter.

Noticeably, most of these travelers resided in Egypt or worked for the state; consequently, they integrated with the local culture and, sometimes, adopted local traditions, customs, and language. Interestingly, they admired the local people, and they were impressed with the unusual social life and religious beliefs. Some of them even converted to Islam. Hence, they merged with society rather than observing it, and this helped in transmitting pictures of what they encountered. In this chapter, I will discuss the works executed by David Roberts, Pascal Coste, Prisse d'Avennes and Robert Hay with occasional reference to other travel accounts. The representation of some significant buildings executed by these artists will be discussed compared to photographs for analysis and evaluation of their accuracy.

Accordingly, to determine to what extent these representations are reliable sources for the documentation of these monuments, their reconstruction, or their conservation.

Many artists, engravers and archaeologists who were brought by Napoleon Bonaparte contributed to *La description de l’Egypte*. This masterpiece consists of twenty-three volumes: ten volumes of plates, ten volumes of text and three “mammoth” volumes containing maps.³⁹ The collection encompasses all aspects in Egypt divided into three sections: antiquities, natural history, and modern state. The collection had been published by the orders of Napoleon, as indicates the title page of each volume. In this paper, I am concerned with the last section in which Islamic Cairo is depicted.

David Roberts was born at Stockbridge, Edinburgh in October 1796. He was the first of five children of a poor and humble shoemaker. In 1838, he travelled to the Near East, namely Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia to be able to collect materials for ultimately his highly successful publishing project about these lands.⁴⁰ As mentioned earlier, he belongs to the European neo-classic or romantic school of art. This latter consists of depicting nature combined with emotions in a dramatic way to express grandeur and power.⁴¹ Industrialism, as discussed in chapter one, imposed tough and severe life conditions to lesser privileged societies. These societies reacted in many aspects one of which was art. Romanticism was one of the art schools that appeared during the nineteenth century to resist the Industrial landscape. During his journey along the Nile from the Delta towards Upper Egypt, he revered ancient Egyptian monuments with their exceptional grandeur.⁴² Moreover, he was fascinated by the crowd in the vast bazaars of Cairo.⁴³

³⁹ They are called “mammoth” for their large dimension. They measure 110 x 74 cm in comparison with the volumes of plates which measure 75*73 cm, and the volumes of text which measure 42 x 28 cm.

⁴⁰ Sim, *David Roberts*, 1-6.

⁴¹ Ackerman, *Les orientalistes*, 8.

⁴² Sim, *David Roberts*, 126.

⁴³ Thackeray, *Notes of a Journey*, 278.

Roberts made his fortune by publishing his collection about the Middle East.⁴⁴ He published six large books three of which include colored engravings of the Holy Land, and the others of Egypt and Nubia. Sim argues that the legacy of paintings and lithographs of David Roberts in his journey in Egypt was incomparable to any other British artist.⁴⁵ His one year journey, 1838-1839, was adventurous, and his output was immense; he completed numerous paintings and studies of Cairo and its surroundings. When he was not painting he was writing his journal or letters home describing the marvels of Cairo, its streets and its people.⁴⁶ Roberts, like many of his professional colleagues, used a *camera lucida* (light chamber), an instrument that used a prism to reflect any object onto a drawing sheet so that it could be traced.⁴⁷ He took sketches of monuments and landscapes along his journey, and then developed them into lithographs in his atelier with the help of Louis Haghe, the famous Belgian lithographer and artist. Although he was fascinated with the splendors of Cairene streets and bazaars, Roberts sometimes pointed out the inconveniences he faced while making his sketches. Artists drew in dusty streets and might be jostled and stared at all day long. Moreover, it was difficult to obtain models, especially females; however, this could be sometimes solved either by using female Jewish models or by payment.⁴⁸ Orientalist artists also encountered many difficulties in the Middle East stemming from the Islamic aversion to human representation.⁴⁹

As for the depiction of Islamic art and architecture David Roberts stated, in his account, that “there is a picture in every street and at every bazaar stall”. He was captivated with the variety of architecture, the brilliant colors and the effects of light and shade. In addition, he perceived the streets of Cairo with fascination; he sketched the houses, the

⁴⁴ Bugler, “Innocent Abroad”, 27.

⁴⁵ Sim, *David Roberts*, 123.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 153.

⁴⁷ Bourbon, *The Life*, 15.

⁴⁸ Bugler, “Innocent Abroad”, 28.

⁴⁹ Bourbon, *The Life*, 27.

archways, the hanging roofs and balconies, and the porches; for him it was a fantastic splendor.⁵⁰ His ability to represent religious buildings and local streets is noticeable. In this chapter, I will discuss examples from the third volume of *Egypt and Nubia* which comprises colored plates of “modern” Egypt displaying scenes of Islamic Cairo.

Pascal Coste was a French architect from Marseilles, and was appointed by the viceroy of Egypt, Khedive Muhammad ‘Ali in 1817, after the evacuation of the French, to execute some development projects such as constructing factories and digging canals in Cairo, Alexandria and Upper Egypt.⁵¹ Accordingly, Coste resided in Egypt for ten years devoted to his work.⁵² Coste was also impressed by Islamic architecture. He made an interesting observation regarding it in the introduction of his compendium *Architecture arabe, ou, monuments du Kaire*. He argued that the impressive Islamic architecture of Egypt, as well as that of Persia, India and China originally derived from the noble civilizations of the above-mentioned areas. The Arabs of the Peninsula were ancient, as well; yet they did not excel in architecture because they dwelled in tents. Their awareness of architecture supposedly stemmed from their conquest of ancient lands in which classical architecture was present; otherwise, they would have lived primitively.⁵³ On the other hand, Coste argued that the Crusades played an important role in transmitting Arab architecture to Europe during the 11th-13th centuries. Italy, France, Britain, and Germany had close encounters with the Arabs during the long wars of the Crusades. Coste gave several examples of decorative motifs and architectural techniques influenced, in his opinion, by Islamic architecture upon the development of Roman classic architecture such as the pointed arches and the asymmetrical designs of buildings. It is surprising to learn that Coste was against French imperial notions and ideas. He praised ancient Egyptian works of art and civilization, and argued that they

⁵⁰ Thackeray, *Notes of a Journey*, 278-9.

⁵¹ Coste, *Architecture arabe*, i.

⁵² Coste, *Toutes les Egypte*, 33.

⁵³ Coste, *Architecture arabe*, 3.

influenced the civilizations of the Arabs and Europe. Coste executed architectural plans, elevations, and sections; furthermore, he provided colored perspective views of the monuments. His engravings are not as fine as David Roberts' ones because they lack some of the aesthetic effects such as light and shade.

The French artist Prisse d'Avennes was one of the leading Egyptologists, orientalist, and travelers of the nineteenth century. Born in 1807 in Avesnes-sur-Helpe, he was fascinated by the Orient, and travelled in many countries. In Egypt, he worked as a civil engineer under the viceroy Muhammad 'Ali. Prisse d'Avennes eventually resided in Egypt and became fluent in Arabic. He embraced Islam and adopted the local customs.⁵⁴ During that time access to religious monuments was not permitted for "a Frank, or Christian".⁵⁵ There were several mosques in Cairo such as al-Azhar in which non-Muslims, i.e. Christians and Jews, were not allowed to enter.⁵⁶ Consequently, travelers, such as Prisse d'Avennes, practiced the participant-observer method to be able to merge entirely among the people; the participant-observer method aims to eliminate from the picture the presence of the European observer, according to Mitchell. Disguise was the device that they used to be able to achieve this double demand, and to escape any suspicion of being a stranger among the local inhabitants.⁵⁷ Therefore, their representations mirrored authentic details. Only in the early nineteenth century were non-Muslim foreigners permitted to access religious buildings to take measurements and make sketches of the architectural decoration. *Firmans* had to be issued from the governor of Egypt for this purpose.

Robert Hay was a Scottish traveler, antiquarian and Egyptologist. He was born in Berwickshire in 1799. He first visited Egypt during his naval service in 1818. In 1824, he visited Egypt as an artist and spent four years. A second expedition to Egypt was from 1829

⁵⁴ Prisse d'Avennes, *Arab Art*, 7.

⁵⁵ Roberts, *Egypt and Nubia*, 227.

⁵⁶ Lane, *An Account of Manners*, 83.

⁵⁷ Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 32-3.

to 1834. It was said that his work represented Egypt itself. During his journey, he executed a large amount of paintings. He only published the *Illustrations of Cairo* in 1840, but nothing else ever saw the light of day. Hay returned to Scotland in 1835 with a lot of unfinished work. While in Cairo in 1826, he met Edward Lane, and both worked together in Egypt for almost a year.⁵⁸

The Mosque of Sultan Hasan

European orientalist appreciated the mosque of Sultan Hasan for its monumentality and the beauty of its architecture. This monument was represented several times by many artists, but the differences in the architectural details are interesting.

Behrens-Abouseif stated that the carved decoration of the portal was incomplete.⁵⁹ Max Herz, in the monography made for the mosque during the examination by the Comité in the nineteenth century, provided a photograph of the portal (Fig. 1).⁶⁰ It shows that the carved decoration was incomplete. On the two sides flanking the doorway, there are a series of alternating square and rectangular panels, and these are incomplete towards the top. There are two square panels in the middle of each side which has a slightly projecting geometrical pattern in the form of a pentagon. On the bottom of both sides there supposed to be a carved band of lozenge-like pattern filling the square and rectangular panels, but it is also incomplete. The portal is topped with a muqarnas vault surmounted with a fluted semi-dome. Above it there is a blank space of stones surmounted with a muqarnas cornice. Another photograph (Fig. 2) of the lateral walls of the portal shows the recessed niche surmounted by a muqarnas vault and a marble panel of *kufic* inscription. Above, there is another marble

⁵⁸ Grutz, "The Lost Portfolios", accessed April 20, 2017.

⁵⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 207.

⁶⁰ Herz, *La mosquée*. This monography was executed under the supervision of Max Herz, architect-in-Chief of the Comité during the examination of the mosque of Sultan Hasan. It includes all objects of art found inside the mosque such as bronze lamps. Moreover, it includes photographs of the actual monument before the restoration together with illustrations and architectural drawings for the potential work. Herz mentioned that the Sultan Hasna was the first mosque to have such monography.

panel with a *kufic* inscription from Surat al-Fath.⁶¹ In addition, a photograph from Creswell's personal collection (Fig. 3) shows the top part of the lateral walls. This photo displays another square panel of *kufic* inscription surmounted by a band of *naskhi* inscription running on the three sides.

David Roberts represented the mosque of Sultan Hasan several times. The plate titled *Grand Entrance to the Mosque of the Sultan Hassan* (Fig. 4) shows the portal of the mosque in which he emphasized its monumentality. He represented the two side walls flanking the doorway decorated with square and rectangular panels incomplete and fading towards the top. He also depicted the muqarnas vault and the semi-dome. Nevertheless, a closer view of the details reveals some differences. The square panel with the pentagon pattern is not projecting because he did not provide any shade in this part (Fig. 5). The band of lozenge-like pattern on the bottom does not exist (Fig. 6). As for the empty space above the semi-dome and the cornice, they were accurately represented. Roberts depicted one of the lateral walls in his lithography that shows the recessed vaulted niche and part of the band of *naskhi* inscription. However, the *kufic* inscriptions in the two marble panels were replaced by cursive letters that cannot be read since he was not an Arabic reader.

Pascal Coste also made up some of the decoration of the portal in his *Porte principale de la mosquée Hassan* (Fig. 7). Surprisingly, the two sides flanking the doorway are completely carved, namely the square and rectangular alternating panels. The pentagon pattern was replaced with an irregular one (Fig. 8). The panels are also filled with the band of lozenge-like pattern. Coste represented the muqarnas vault and the fluted semi-dome accurately; yet the spandrels are fully decorated with arabesques rather than the original two small medallions set on a plain background. Coste invented a colossal band of inscription above the muqarnas vault that cannot be read, as well (Fig. 9). In addition, he added

⁶¹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 209.

crenellations that do not exist in the original monument. The band of *naskhi* inscription running on the three sides of the portal was depicted, but the letters are false. One of his sketches of the portal shows his progress of filling up the portal with made-up decoration (Fig. 10).

Prisse d'Avennes executed a lithograph of the portal (Fig. 11), as well. He emphasized the grandeur of the doorway by representing two human figures at the entrance. The side walls are completely carved with plain square and rectangular panels except for the two square panels with geometrical pattern; it is almost a pentagon-like. The band of lozenge-like pattern does not exist (Fig. 12). Like Coste, d'Avennes added a band of *naskhi* inscription above the muqarnas vault and the fluted semi-dome, but smaller in size (Fig. 13). The letters should be read because d'Avennes learned Arabic language. Regarding the muqarnas cornice, it can be hardly seen because it is cut by the frame of the lithograph. In this lithograph, we can see one of the lateral walls of the doorway. They are accurate for he represented the vaulted recessed niche surmounted by two panels of *kufic* inscriptions similar to the originals (Fig. 14). It is worth mentioning that the stalactite semi-domes recall Seljuk style, but according to d'Avennes, they recall Gothic architecture,⁶² a European influence. The band of cursive inscription was also represented accurately in his lithograph.

The portal of the Sultan Hasan mosque was represented in *La description de l'Egypte*, as well (Fig. 15). The side walls are completely carved with plain square and rectangular panels. The square panel with carved pentagon-like pattern does not exist. Like the original monument, the band of lozenge-like pattern exists on the bottom of the side walls, and incomplete (Fig. 16). The muqarnas vault and the fluted semi-dome were represented, but the muqarnas looks like a lozenge pattern rather than stalactite. There is no band of inscription above the semi-dome, and the spandrels were accurately represented with two small

⁶² Prisse d'Avennes, *Arab Art*, 109.

medallions. At the top, there is a faithful representation of a muqarnas cornice. The band of *naskhi* inscription below the vault can be seen; yet the letters look awkward.

Among all the above-mentioned lithographs, Coste fabricated most of the portal's design. Apparently, he perceived the perfect appearance of the portal. Yet the lithograph by d'Avennes and the one in *La description de l'Egypte* respected most of the original features.

The tilted axis was cleverly executed in the plate titled *Vue perspective extérieure de la mosquée de Soutlan Hassan* (Fig. 17). A photograph from Creswell's personal collection (Fig. 18) was taken from the same angle, and it also shows the non-aligned position of the doorway. None of the above-mentioned artists represented the position of the door, but in the textual description of the plate of the *Grand Entrance to the Mosque of the Sultan Hassan* Roberts noted the extraordinary height of the portal, and that it could be "seen from the entrance to the narrow street whence the steps ascend".⁶³

The depiction of human figures next to the portal strengthened the impression of its monumentality and grandeur in both lithographs by Roberts and d'Avennes.

An undated old photo from a collection of the University of California, probably before the restoration of the Comité, shows the ablution fountain of Sultan Hasan in its original state (Fig. 19).⁶⁴ The fountain has a wooden dome set on an octagonal wooden drum resting on eight marble columns. The drum is pierced on each side with a composition of a double light and an oculus. The dome is surrounded with a band of *naskhi* script of the verse of the Throne. The fountain is dated 1364/766, and it was filled with drink during festivities such as the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad. Later, it became an ablution fountain.⁶⁵ The restoration of the fountain included the windows; they were executed in colored-glass filled and framed

⁶³ Roberts, *Egypt and Nubia*, 254.

⁶⁴ There is a small fountain, next to the large one in question, that disappeared in the photos taken after the restoration of the Comité.

⁶⁵ Fahim, *The Great Madrasa*, 15.

with stucco.⁶⁶ By 1907, the ablution fountain was completely restored.⁶⁷ The old photo from California University also displays part of the qibla iwan. It is slightly pointed and accentuated with an arch of *mushahar* voussoir. The *dikka* for the *mu'addhins* can be hardly seen in this photo; yet the mihrab is totally hidden behind the fountain of the court. Several photographs from Creswell's personal collection show the interior of the mosque of Sultan Hasan after the restoration by the Comité. Interestingly, one of these photos (Figs. 20 and 21) were taken from the same angle as the lithographs discussed in the following paragraphs. In these photos, the niche of the mihrab can be seen; it is recessed and slightly pointed, and filled with polychrome marble. An illustration provided by Max Herz in his monography of the Sultan Hasan shows the details of the mihrab after its restoration (Fig. 22); it is a recessed vaulted niche surmounted by a double slightly pointed arch with polychrome voussoirs. The niche has two tiers of blind arches surmounted with a tier of dwarf blind niches. The mihrab is flanked by a pair of marble columns with gilded capitals. The illustration also shows the stucco band of *naskhi* inscription on a background of intricate arabesque. The original pavement of the open court was published in the Comité bulletin in 1914 before and after restoration (Fig. 23). It has various geometrical patterns. The examination of the mosque of Sultan Hasan started in 1893. The work of such a huge and important monument required a large fund to restore it. The restoration work was finally accomplished in 1914-15 with the restoration of the pavement of the open court.⁶⁸

In the *Interior of the Mosque of Sultan Hassan* engraving (Fig. 24), David Roberts depicted the ablution fountain in the foreground of the painting and two iwans, one of which is the prayer hall. It is worth mentioning here that Roberts drew this lithograph before 1846 which means that the Comité restored the fountain to its original form. Roberts depicted the

⁶⁶ *BCCMAA*, 363th report, 1907, 8.

⁶⁷ *BCCMAA*, 375th report, 1907, 80.

⁶⁸ *BCCMAA*, 1893, p. 104; *BCCMAA*, 1914, pl. VI.

ablution fountain accurately as an octagonal drum pierced from each side by a composition of double light and an oculus, and surmounted with a bulbous dome surrounded by a band of cursive inscription. Obviously, the inscription is false. The fountain is supported on eight columns. The lithograph displays two of the four iwans one of which is the qibla iwan. Like the original, the vaults of the iwans are slightly pointed, and accentuated with an arch of *mushahar* voussoir. Roberts represented the qibla iwan, the mihrab and the *dikka* for the *mu'addhins* together with the minbar. He reported that the small dome surmounting the minbar is covered with “very rich arabesque carvings in wood”.⁶⁹ In his lithograph, the mihrab is slightly pointed, recessed and flanked with a pair of columns; yet the details can hardly be seen (Fig. 25). Roberts represented the intricate band of inscription running on the walls of the qibla iwan, but he mistakenly extended it to the lateral iwan. There were wooden corbels running along the iwans that are no longer extant. Roberts represented these corbels in his lithograph, but did not mention them in his text. These wooden corbels probably used for hanging lamps. They are extant in the old photo from the University of California, but perhaps had been removed during the restoration for they are no longer extant in the photos from Creswell’s collection. In the lithograph, Roberts depicted a well-proportioned crenellation of the fleur-de-lys. Surprisingly, the top part of the minaret of the mausoleum does not appear beyond. The pavement in the lithograph by Roberts is plain; however, it should have been decorated with various geometrical patterns. The photo published in the *Comité Bulletin* asserts that the pavement was originally decorated.

Coste drew the interior of the mosque in *Vue interieure de la mosquée Hassan* (Fig. 26) from the same angle as Roberts, showing the qibla iwan; yet the ablution fountain looks smaller and the dome is less bulbous. He painted the ablution fountain dome blue and the

⁶⁹ Roberts, *Egypt and Nubia*, 227.

inscription band gilded as he described them in his book.⁷⁰ Like Roberts, the inscription is false. Coste made an accurate representation of the windows of the drum as well as the eight columns supporting the dome of the fountain. The two iwans represented in his lithograph are curved rather than pointed, and accentuated with a series of *mushahar* voussoirs. This could be an Ottoman renovation that had been later removed since he executed this lithograph six years before Roberts.⁷¹ Or more likely, an addition from his imagination to accentuate the monumentality of the building because he made a sketch of the interior that displays the iwans without these additional arches (Fig. 27). In the qibla iwan, the mihrab is represented as recessed and flanked with columns, but it is curved rather than pointed (Fig. 28). Further details cannot be seen. Coste also represented the *dikka* for the *mu'addhins* in marble. The band of intricate *naskhi* inscription runs only along the walls of the qibla iwan, which is similar to the original decoration. The wooden corbels are extant, as well as in Roberts lithograph. Roberts stated that the suspended lamps were used constantly, especially in Ramadan. They are transparent with beautiful colors and exquisite designs.⁷² Coste stated incorrectly that these lamps were made of bronze.⁷³ On the other hand, the crenellations, in the form of the fleur-de-lys,⁷⁴ look out-of-proportion in comparison to the originals. Unlike Roberts, Coste represented the top part of the minaret beyond. The court of the mosque is paved with various patterns and colors, as the photo of the Comité shows.

In the description of the interior of the *Mosque of Sultan Hasan*, Prisse d'Avennes wrote that the mihrab was decorated with four small marble columns surmounted with capitals decorated with leaves in a very fine technique such that one would think they are in bronze.⁷⁵ The columns flanking the niche of the mihrab together with their foliated capitals

⁷⁰ Coste, *Architecture arabe*, 37.

⁷¹ I would like to thank Dr. O'Kane for this insight.

⁷² Roberts, *Egypt and Nubia*, 227.

⁷³ Coste, *Architecture arabe*, 37.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 37.

⁷⁵ Prisse d'Avennes, *Arab Art*, 109.

were looted from Crusader buildings in Syria.⁷⁶ He also stated that there are bands of *kufic* inscriptions filled with arabesque running along the walls of the qibla iwan. D'Avennes mentioned that the wall of the qibla iwan is paneled with a marble dado which is much lower on the lateral wall than on the central one to emphasize the qibla.⁷⁷ As for the minbar, he disliked it because of the heaviness of the crowning of its door in proportion to the small cupola above it, and because it seemed to have been awkwardly restored in many places. He also mentioned that the *dikka* for the *mu'addhins* was made of marble as depicted in Roberts and Coste's drawings. Finally, he described the gilded and enameled glass lamps, unfortunately broken.⁷⁸

In *La description de l'Egypte*, the paneled qibla wall and the flanking columns together with the band of inscription can be all seen in an elevation titled *Portion de la coupe transversale de la mosquée de Soultan Hasan* (Fig. 29). In addition, the engraving displays the minbar and the *dikka* for the *mu'addhins* correctly. The *kufic* inscription is false for the engraver was not an Arabic reader. The lithograph titled *Vue perspective interieure de la mosquée de Soultan Hasan* (Fig. 30) displays also two iwans, one of which is the qibla iwan, together with the ablution fountain. The representation of the fountain is accurate because it has the same features discussed previously. The arches of the iwans are pointed and emphasized with *mushahar* voussoirs. The mihrab and the *dikka* for the *mu'addhins* can only be seen in the *coupe transversale*. Like Coste, the niche of the mihrab is curved rather than pointed. There is a band of *kufic* inscription running along the walls of the iwan, but the inscription is false, and set on a plain background. The crenellation of the fleur-de-lys is accurately represented in both lithographs of *La description de l'Egypte*. Like Roberts, the pavement is plain.

⁷⁶ Gonnella, "Architecture, Syria", 188.

⁷⁷ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 211.

⁷⁸ Prisse d'Avennes, *Arab Art*, 109-10.

The present-day fountain kept its original appearance, namely the octagonal drum pierced with the composition of the double light and the oculus filled with stucco and colored glass. The drum is surmounted by the dome surrounded with the band of *naskhi* inscription giving the verse of the Throne. The whole structure is supported on the eight marble columns mentioned earlier. However, the fountain does not currently function.

The discussion of the architectural features in the lithographs by Roberts, Coste and *La description de l’Egypte* showed variations in accuracy; yet Coste fabricated many details such as the completion of the side walls flanking the doorway of the mosque together with the addition of crenellation on the top of the portal. Regarding the interior, he made the arches of the iwans curved rather than pointed, and added a series of *mushahar* voussoirs in the soffit, probably for emphasizing their grandeur. Regarding the fountain, the above-mentioned lithographs confirm that the restoration work embarked by the Comité kept its original appearance as we see it today.

Lane noted, in his account, that a Muslim worshiper must perform an important ritual which is ablution, or *wudu’*, before praying. There is a tank called *mida’a* in every mosque or a *hanafiyya* which is a raised reservoir with spouts round it from which the water falls. Lane also noted that in some mosques, there are both of these.⁷⁹ As mentioned earlier, the fountain in the open court of the Sultan Hasan was not used as an ablution fountain. Therefore, the mosque originally had only one *mida’a*.

The Tombs of the Mamluks

An early twentieth century photograph from Creswell’s personal collection displays the mausoleum of al-Sultaniyya (c.1350-1) with its double stone ribbed domes (Fig. 31). The

⁷⁹ Lane, *An account of Manners*, 68-9. Muslims of the Hanafi sect, of which are the Turks, perform the ablution at the *hanafiyya*, which has received the name from that cause, for they must do it with running water, or from a tank or pool at least ten cubits in breadth and the same in depth. Lane reported that there was only one *mida’a* in Cairo of that depth which is in the great mosque of al-Azhar.

endowment deed mentioned that it belonged to the mother of Sultan Hasan (1347-51, 1354-61). Although the attribution may be questionable, stylistically a mid-fourteenth century date is reasonable especially since a similar kind of bulbous dome on a high drum is found in the madrasa of Amir Sarghatmish.⁸⁰ The Sultaniyya complex has a double mausoleum, whose date and owner are unidentified. It is located in the cemetery on the southeastern side of the citadel. It has two similar but not identical domes.⁸¹ They recall Timurid examples with elongated drums and ribbed and bulbous domes; even though Timurid examples were made of tiled brick like those of the Bibi Khanum mosque in Samarqand, 1399-1404 (Fig. 32). The drums of the domes of the Sultaniyya are pierced with windows, and one of the drums has square *kufic* inscriptions. The rear wall of the Sultaniyya mausoleum has rectangular recesses each surmounted with three tiers of muqarnas. Part of this wall has not survived.⁸²

Beyond the domes stands the octagonal minaret of the funerary complex. The minaret was once attached to a wall enclosing it.⁸³ A photograph by Creswell shows a close-up of the dome with *kufic* inscription collapsed (Fig. 33). Another photo (Fig. 34) displays the minaret without its upper storey. The Comité later restored the third storey of the minaret as it appears today (Fig. 35). According to Behrens-Abouseif, it is uncertain whether the actual hexagonal shaft of the minaret directly surmounted by a bulb was intended to be the uppermost structure of the minaret after the Comité restoration, or whether the bulb was originally supported by a pavilion giving the minaret a fourth storey.⁸⁴

In the third volume of *Egypt and Nubia*, Roberts executed a funerary composition that consists of the mausoleum of al-Sultaniyya together with the Qubba and Khanqah of Amir Qawsun (1336) titled *Tombs of the Memlooks, Cairo, with an Arab Funeral* (Fig. 36). The

⁸⁰ Williams, *Islamic Monuments*, 125.

⁸¹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 214.

⁸² Ibid, 215.

⁸³ Ibid, 215.

⁸⁴ Behrens-Abouseif and Warner, *The Minarets of Cairo*, 187.

mausoleum of Qawsun was built earlier in the cemetery with the same layout: two domes, only one of which has survived, and a minaret were located in the northern corner of the enclosure. The two funerary monuments form a picturesque composition.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the decorative structure of Qawsun is different than the one of the Sultaniyya. The dome of the Qawsun mausoleum is ribbed and surrounded with an inscription band as depicted in Roberts' drawing. The transition zone can be seen from the exterior marked with steps alternating with a group of three windows, a traditional Mamluk feature found on the dome of the funerary Khanqah of Amir Sunqur al-Sa'di, 1315-21 (Fig. 37) and the dome of the funerary Khanqah of Sultan al-Muzzaffar Baybars al-Jashinkir, 1307-10 (Fig. 38). The minaret is located fifty meters to the northwest, and dates from 1336. It has keel-arched ribbed domed-finial and rows of stalactite niches; a traditional early Mamluk style of minaret.⁸⁶ An early twentieth century photo from the personal collection of Creswell shows the minaret of Qawsun and the one of al-Sultaniyya beyond (Fig. 39). Roberts also depicted the minaret of the Ottoman Nur al-Din mosque in the background of the Sultaniyya mausoleum. In the text, he admired the elegance of the structures of the domes and the different designs of the minarets.⁸⁷

The comparison of the lithograph by Roberts and the photos provided earlier asserts that Robert made very accurate representation of the mausoleum of al-Sultaniyya together with its minaret, and the minaret of Qawsun. Obviously, Roberts executed this lithograph before 1846, before the dome collapsed. Therefore, the dome collapsed at some point in history after 1846 and before the early twentieth century, when Creswell took the picture of the mausoleum. On the other hand, the upper part of the minaret of the Sultaniyya was already non-extant until it was finally restored by the Comité. The minaret of Qawsun

⁸⁵ Ibid, 215.

⁸⁶ Williams, *Islamic Monuments*, 126.

⁸⁷ Roberts, *Egypt and Nubia*, 252.

remained intact as it is shown in the lithograph by Roberts as well as in the photograph by Creswell. Regarding the rear wall of the Sultaniyya, Roberts represented it accurately surmounted with muqarnas cornice; yet they are deeper in the lithograph than in the actual building for he added more shade in this part. In addition, Roberts documented the part of the rear wall that collapsed (Fig. 40). The accuracy of Roberts' representation suggests that the part of the rear wall that fell looks authentic.

The cemetery was also depicted in *La description de l'Egypte* with the title *Vues des tombeaux situés près de gebel Moqattam* (Fig. 41). The details of the monuments can be seen in a close-up (Fig. 42) in which the Sultaniyya mausoleum with its minaret and the ones of Qawsun and Nur al-Din can be recognized. The importance of this lithograph is that it shows that the domes of the Sultaniyya mausoleum from the time of the French Expedition until 1809, the date of the lithograph, were still intact. Thus, it confirms that Roberts made an authentic representation of the domes, and that this was their original form. Moreover, the upper part of the minaret of the Sultaniyya was not extant as well as it shows in Roberts' lithograph. Thus, this upper part had been lost at some point in history before 1809. On the other hand, the minaret of Qawsun was intact in the lithograph as well as the minaret of Nur al-Din beyond.

The lithographs published by Roberts and *La description de l'Egypte* were faithfully represented. The one by Roberts, in particular, serves as a reliable reference of the architectural setting of the monument.

The mosque of al-Azhar

The al-Azhar mosque, built during the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz, was the first theological college in Cairo. In 989 al-Azhar appointed thirty-five scholars to teach Isma'ili Shi'i theology, and a hostel was built for them near the mosque. After the Ottoman

conquest, the role of Mamluk madrasas declined, and al-Azhar became the center of scholarship in Egypt, and one of the principal theological colleges in the Muslim world.⁸⁸ The mosque expanded over time. The result was an amalgamation of styles from different Muslim dynasties including the Fatimid, Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman. Creswell, who referred to Maqrizi, also mentioned that there was a foundation inscription round the dome to the right of the mihrab and on the minbar that stated “this is among the things which have been ordered by [...] al-Mu‘izz to be built [...] and the hand of his servant Gawhar, al-Katib al-Siqilli, in 360”.⁸⁹ Prisse d’Avennes explained that al-Azhar was the only institution in Egypt from which one can receive the title of doctor, or *‘alim*. He added that in its public courtyards sheikhs come to teach and give lessons on laws and commentaries on the Qur’an, to explain obscure passages of the holy book of God and the traditions of the Prophet.⁹⁰

Pascal Sebah, a photographer from Constantinople who founded a studio in Cairo in 1857, took a photo of al-Azhar that dates back to 1887 (Fig. 43). This photo displays the group of five minarets that consists of those of Qaytbay, al-Ghawri and the one of al-Aqbughawiyya madrasa together with the two Ottoman minarets of ‘Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda. In this photo the dome of the Aqbughawiyya madrasa is non-extant. ‘Ali Mubarak reported in his *Khitat* that the dome was restored during the reign of Khedive Isma‘il together with the restoration of other structures by ‘Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda.⁹¹ Creswell took several pictures of the mosque of al-Azhar, one of which displays the northwestern façade with the group of minarets (Fig. 44). The northwestern arcade had been added by the Fatimid Caliph al-Hafiz li-Din Allah in 1129-49 to give the mosque four arcades. Pre-Islamic columns with Corinthian capitals carry them. These arcades had been converted into rooms to house the

⁸⁸ Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 58.

⁸⁹ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture* 1:36.

⁹⁰ Prisse d’Avennes, *Arab Art*, 98.

⁹¹ Mubarak, *Khitat* 4:47; Rabbat, “Al-Azhar Mosque”, 62.

students.⁹² This photograph shows the filled-in keel arches of the northeastern arcade, and the dome of the Aqbughawiyya madrasa remained unbuilt. Creswell pointed out that this photo was taken before the work of the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* in 1891. The Comité embarked in the restoration of the mosque of al-Azhar in 1892. The decision was made to demolish the original arcade and re-construct it faithfully.⁹³ Another photo from Creswell's personal collection was taken after the restoration of the mosque and the dome was finally built (Fig. 45). In figure 44, there is a lodge in the open court which had keel arches similar to the ones of the arcade, but it does not exist today. This photo also displays the crenellations surmounting the northwestern arcade.

Prisse d'Avennes depicted the mosque in his plate titled *Mosquée d'el-Azhar, vue de la cour principale, du X^{ème} siècle au XIII^{ème} siècle* (Fig. 46). D'Avennes represented the northwestern façade of the mosque. In this lithograph, he depicted the group of minarets accurately, and only the drum of the Aqbughawiyya madrasa is extant. Moreover, he made a faithful representation of the keel arches supported on columns and converted into rooms for the students, as he mentioned earlier in his *Arab Art*. Above each column, he represented a series of recessed blind niches with fluted hoods resting on colonettes alternating with sunken roundels filled with lobes very similar to the original design. D'Avennes stated that the students sat in the open court around the columns where the professor sat. The classes were separated according to the countries of Islam and the provinces of Egypt.⁹⁴ Thanks to the enlargements made by 'Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda, the mosque of al-Azhar was divided into different departments for teaching. Coste noted that there were separate dormitories for students coming from Persia, Syria, Arabia, and Yemen, Lower and Upper Egypt. The blind

⁹² Prisse d'Avennes, *Arab Art*, 98.

⁹³ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture* 1:254.

⁹⁴ Prisse d'Avennes, *Arab Art*, 100.

had a separate department.⁹⁵ D’Avennes also made a faithful representation of the crenellations surmounting the northwestern arcade. In the open court, he made a representation of the lodge discussed earlier which looks very similar to the original one shown in the photo by Creswell; the keel arches are supported by wooden beams and columns. In his *Arab Art*, d’Avennes mentioned a *maqsura* which consisted of a spacious portico supported by several columns, and it opened only on the side of the courtyard. In this *maqsura* professors gave their lessons, “seated cross-legged, leaning against their respective columns while the listeners, crouching, form circles around them”.⁹⁶

In or about 1820, Muhammad ‘Ali asked Pascal Coste to build two mosques. Coste replied that he must make himself acquainted with the interiors of the principal mosques of Cairo. As discussed previously in the paper, access to mosques was restricted for “unbelievers”; hence, he was given a *firman* for this purpose. He could enter several mosques in Cairo; however, he was told not to enter the mosque of al-Azhar. Given his curiosity and his anxiety about not completing the project he went to meet the chief of the al-Azhar who welcomed him. Coste told him that the Pasha wanted a report of the pavements of mosques that need repair; therefore, he succeeded in accessing the mosque without being troubled by the students. He took measurements and a general view of the interior sufficient for his project.⁹⁷

Coste made a representation of the open court of al-Azhar mosque facing the southeastern façade that leads to the central transept of the prayer hall (Fig. 47). This lithograph could be compared to a photograph from Creswell’s personal collection dated 1891, before the restoration of the Comité (Fig. 48), together with an architectural drawing provided in his book of *Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (Fig. 49). The photo will serve the

⁹⁵ Coste, *Architecture arabe*, 668.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 90.

⁹⁷ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture* 1:41.

comparison because it shows the status of the southeastern façade when Coste took his sketch. The central transept is about a meter higher than the façade, and it is surmounted with a dome hidden behind the pishtaq (Fig. 50). This arcade also consists of keel arches supported by wooden beams and Corinthian columns. They are surmounted with a series of recessed blind niches with fluted hoods alternating with sunken roundels filled with lobes. The arcade is also surmounted with crenellations. In his lithograph, Coste executed an accurate representation of this façade; yet the dome was disproportionally displayed.

An old photo shows the principal façade constructed by ‘Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda (Fig. 51). The portal consists of a double doorway surmounted with a decoration of cypress trees that were traditionally used in Ottoman decoration similar to the decoration of the mosque of Aqsunqur in Cairo (Fig. 52). The cypress tree motif was also represented by Prisse d’Avennes in an illustration displaying the tilework of a “pseudo-mihrab” in the mosque of Ibrahim Agha during the sixteenth century in Egypt (Fig. 53). The entrance to the al-Azhar added by Amir Katkhuda is of stone carving.⁹⁸ Another photo by Nasser Rabbat, taken before 1985, shows the status of the portal after the removal of the minaret of Katkhuda (Fig. 54). The modernization movement during the reign of Khedive Isma‘il and his two successors, Tawfiq and ‘Abbas, required to regularize the site of al-Azhar given its importance as a pedagogical destination for Muslims around the Islamic world. The task became more urgent with the opening of al-Azhar Street and Maydan al-Azhar in 1890-2. Hence, the entire northern façade had to be aligned with the street and the minaret of ‘Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda had to be demolished since it stood alone outside the Bab al-Muzayinin.⁹⁹ This latter together with the Ottoman minarets and the *kuttab* were added by ‘Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda in the 1740’s. In 1896, the Comité ordered the demolition of the *kuttab*.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Rabbat, “Al-Azhar Mosque”, 46.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 62.

¹⁰⁰ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture* 1:42-3; Raymond, “Constructions de l’émir”, 239.

Interestingly, the *kuttab* was represented in both Coste and Hay's lithographs. Unfortunately, none of the photographs show it to make the comparison; however, one would speculate that this was the original design since both artists made similar representations.

The lower part of one of the two Ottoman minarets was represented in Pascal Coste's drawing titled *Vue et details de la porte el-Saydeh de la mosquée el-Azhar* (Fig. 55). Coste accurately represented the stone double doorway within a series of curved arches flanked by three engaged columns on each side. He depicted the trilobed arch and the motif in the center. He made a close-up of this motif in the same lithograph; it consists of a floral pattern very similar to the original one. The spandrels are also accurate; they are filled with arabesque. Nevertheless, the band of decoration that surmounts the doorway has several deficiencies (Fig. 56).

In the old photograph, there are two tiers of decoration. The lower one has a series of cypress tree motifs alternating with panels of *naskhi* inscriptions set in a mirrored design. In the middle there is a roundel with a projecting element, and at each end there is a motif of a stylized palm tree. In Coste's lithograph, the traditional Ottoman cypress trees were replaced with ordinary tree-motifs alternating with roundels rather than the bands of inscriptions (Fig. 57). Moreover, the palm trees were replaced with a panel of repetitive decorative motifs. On the upper tier, there are a series of *naskhi* inscriptions set within rectangular frames. These were represented similarly in Coste's lithograph; however, the inscription is false. Coste represented the base of the Ottoman minaret thinner than the original one. He replaced the capital of the engaged column with a Corinthian one rather than Doric. The crenellation depicted at the base of the minaret is questionable because, unfortunately, none of the photos show it. Moreover, Hay did not represent any crenellation in his lithograph that follows (Fig. 58).

Robert Hay showed the northwestern portal in his lithograph (Fig. 59). He represented the *kuttab*, as mentioned earlier, and the double arched doorway. The design of the portal looks faithful as well as the two tiers of decorative bands that surmount it (Fig. 60). Hay did not depict any crenellation on the base of the minaret (Fig. 61). Although the photos do not show this part of the monument, one would speculate that the crenellation never existed. Probably Coste made-up this crenellation especially since he fabricated many decorative features in previous monuments such as the addition of crenellation on the top of the portal of Sultan Hasan, discussed previously. Interestingly, a worshiper on the left-hand side of the lithograph is praying, but in the incorrect direction; the entrance of the mosque is located on the northeastern side which means that the qibla should be on the other direction; hence, the worshiper should be facing the doorway while praying (Fig. 62).

David Roberts had the chance to visit several mosques in Cairo, as mentioned earlier, one of which was the mosque of al-Azhar. Nevertheless, he did not make any sketches of it for he was disappointed with its deteriorated state.¹⁰¹ *La description de l’Egypte* did not also publish any plates of the al-Azhar mosque in its collection of Cairene religious buildings.

The discussion of the above-mentioned monument asserts that Prisse d’Avennes made the most faithful representation of the open court of al-Azhar. The architectural features are mostly accurate. Coste also represented the open court accurately; yet he fabricated some decorative motifs in his representation of the portal. Hay was more accurate in depicting this portal. The lithographs depicting the entrance to al-Azhar are very important for they made a visual documentation of this portal after its modification during the modernization movement of al-Azhar Square.

¹⁰¹ Sim, *David Roberts*, 153.

The mausoleum of Sultan Qalawun

The construction of the mausoleum started in 683/1285, and finished in 684/1285 according to an inscription on a marble panel above the door of the mausoleum.¹⁰² The mausoleum of the Sultan is located on the right-hand side of the street façade while the mosque is located on the left. Qalawun started to construct it after being treated in the hospital of Damascus in Syria. He expressed his admiration for the institution, and vowed to imitate it if he should ever come to the throne.¹⁰³ The interior of the mausoleum is a rectangular space in which there is an octagon that is formed by an arrangement of four piers and four columns supporting a high drum and a dome. The Corinthian columns are spolia taken from an ancient building; they are of rose granite supporting double impost blocks of carved wood similar to the tops of the piers (Fig. 63).¹⁰⁴ All columns and piers are braced with wooden tie-beams. The 15m high ceiling is lavishly decorated with wooden coffers. The octagonal drum rises seven meters above it together with the dome that rises nine meters which makes its summit thirty-one meters high from the pavement of the mausoleum.¹⁰⁵ The drum is pierced with windows which consist of a triple-light composition with a double arch and an oculus, and has traces of original stucco inscription. The colonettes on which the arches of the windows rest are Corinthian. The original dome was demolished by the Ottoman Amir ‘Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda in 1190/1776-7 because it was in a dangerous state, and replaced by a wooden ceiling.¹⁰⁶ The present dome was constructed in 1903 by Max Herz, chief architect of the Comité, copying that of the mausoleum of al-Ashraf Khalil.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Creswell, *Muslim Architecture* 2:210; Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus* 19:129.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 205.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 192.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 193.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 193; Raymond, “Constructions de l’émir”, 249.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 193.

The walls beyond the octagon are two storeys high. The upper one has the triple-light composition with a double arch and an oculus,¹⁰⁸ and the composition is framed with a pointed arch decorated with stucco.¹⁰⁹ Coste observed the high precision of the execution of the sculpture and the talented craftsmen. Creswell stated that the interior decoration of the mausoleum was lavish; nevertheless, he argued that the scale of the stucco ornament was too fine to be observed from a distance.¹¹⁰ Coste also admired the lavish decoration of the interior of the mausoleum, and he compared it to the Gothic style, a European influence. Creswell stated that a frieze divided into two bands runs immediately above the capitals of the engaged columns; the lower is gilt and decorated with vine-scrolls while the upper one consists of a *naskhi* inscription in large characters.¹¹¹

There is a screen that forms a *maqsura* which encloses the cenotaph of Sultan Qalawun, and was placed by his son, al-Nasir Muhammad in the year in which he repaired the minaret.¹¹² A now non-extant gable top that covered the tomb is represented in the drawing by Prisse d'Avennes and Coste.¹¹³ Creswell reported that this wooden gable top rested on a double stylobate, and it still retains at each end a fine panel of its original woodwork.¹¹⁴

Coste wrote that there was a silk *qaftan* and a belt in leather that the sultan used to wear, and to which miraculous virtues were attributed. Men and women with illness could wear them with veneration for a fee given to the keeper, and they would circumambulate the tomb three times while saying a few prayers. It was believed that this would cure their

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 193.

¹⁰⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 139

¹¹⁰ Creswell, *Muslim Architecture* 2:193-4.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 194.

¹¹² Ibid, 194.

¹¹³ Ibid, plate 69a. Creswell provided a photo of the wooden screen, or *maqsura* in which the wooden structure that covers the tomb is non-extant.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 194.

illness.¹¹⁵ The *qaftan* of Sultan Qalawun together with other *qaftans* worn by other sultans such as al-Nasir Muhammad and al-Malik al-Salih ‘Imad al-Din Isma‘il were kept in cupboards on the northeastern side of the mausoleum.¹¹⁶

Prisse d’Avennes executed an interesting illustration titled *Tombeau de Soultan Qalaoun. XIV^{ème} siècle* (Fig. 64). The walls are remarkably high due to the original height of the ceiling that measures 15 meters from the pavement, as mentioned earlier. Consequently, d’Avennes did not depict the dome. One could speculate that the dome that existed during sketching this illustration was the one built by Amir Katkhuda in 1776-7 since the lithograph is dated 1877 and the present one was built in 1903. D’Avennes made an accurate representation of the marble columns with their Corinthian capitals surmounted by a series of knotted arches decorated with fine stucco. Yet the wooden tie-beams shown in Creswell’s photo are non-extant in his lithograph. Moreover, he faithfully represented the octagonal drum pierced with a triple-light composition within a curved arch decorated with stucco. The colonettes on which the arches of the windows rest are Corinthian, as the original ones. Above these windows, he represented the band of *naskhi* inscription cut at the top of the drawing. Nevertheless, a close-up to the inscription apparent in this part shows that although d’Avennes learnt Arabic, he, awkwardly, made a false inscription. Beyond the octagonal drum, d’Avennes faithfully represented the triple-light composition within a slightly pointed arch decorated with stucco, but these are partially hidden. Part of the coffered ceiling can be seen in his lithograph, but it is difficult to recognize the details of the decoration. Behind the tomb, there are marble panels surmounted with the frieze mentioned earlier by Creswell in his *Muslim Architecture*. Awkwardly, a close-up to the frieze shows that the inscription is also false (Fig. 65).

¹¹⁵ Coste, *Architecture arabe*, 36.

¹¹⁶ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 138.

Moreover, d'Avennes made an accurate depiction of the wooden screen that encloses the tomb of the sultan. Yet in the photo by Creswell, the screen has an upper band carved with *naskhi* inscription. This band is blank from the inner side facing the tomb, and it is not represented in the lithograph. D'Avennes represented the crenellations immediately on top of the screen (Fig. 66). The lithograph displays the gable top that covers the tomb of the Sultan. The probability that this wooden structure was removed during the restoration of Amir Katkhuda is not applicable since d'Avennes executed this lithograph in 1877, after the restoration of the Ottoman Amir. In one of the bulletins, it was reported that there is maintenance of some woodwork in the mausoleum of Qalawun that included the Kursi and some other items.¹¹⁷ Yet, the gable top was not mentioned in any of the reports as being restored or totally removed. I believe that this gable top disappeared at some point in history after the two artists took their sketches and before the examination by the Comité, especially since Creswell mentioned previously that traces of its original woodwork still exist when he captured the photo. The pavement of the mausoleum in a photo from Creswell's personal collection (Fig. 67) asserts that the Comité restored it to its original status since it was similarly depicted a few decades earlier in the lithograph by d'Avennes.

Coste represented the mausoleum in an architectural section titled *Coupe sur la ligne C-D du plan de la sale du tombeau de Qalaoun* (Fig. 68). Remarkably, the lithograph shows the wooden ceiling of Amir Katkhuda before the restoration of the actual dome by the Comité (Fig. 69). However, it is difficult to confirm the accuracy of its form since this wooden ceiling appears neither in the photographs, nor in d'Avennes' lithograph. The frieze of the vine-scroll and *naskhi* inscription is apparent in Coste's engraving, but it is not accurately depicted; the vine-scroll pattern was replaced by a zigzag pattern, and the inscription is false (Fig. 70).

¹¹⁷ BCCMAA, 448th report, 1912-24, 70.

Another photo from Creswell's collection (Fig. 71) displays the mihrab of the mausoleum. It has a series of blind and recessed niches with fluted hoods and engaged colonnettes alternating with dwarf blind niches and panels of geometrical patterns inlaid. The mihrab's niche is curved and flanked by triple engaged marble columns on each side. The restoration of the mosaic of the mihrab was executed by the Comité, and it was finally accomplished and published in its bulletin dated 1920-24.¹¹⁸ In the *C-D* section by Coste, the recess of the mihrab is partially represented. It can be recognized by the three flanking columns, and the tiers of blind niches alternating with bands of floral motifs (Fig. 72). Yet these floral motifs in Coste's lithograph are larger than the original pattern. Despite the slight difference of the mosaic pattern depicted in Coste's lithograph, it asserts that the Comité kept the original design while restoring the mihrab.

Regarding the wooden screen that encloses the tomb, Coste provided a separate detailed plate for it (Fig. 73). In this illustration, he gave an example of the design of the carved wood together with the details of the crenellations. Unlike d'Avennes, Coste represented the band of carved *naskhi* inscription which is set below the crenellations; yet the Arabic script cannot be read for he was not an Arabic reader.

Interestingly, both lithographs provided a visual documentation of the mausoleum of Sultan Qalawun in the period before the restoration of the Comité, and after the restoration of 'Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda. The details are mostly authentic except for a few deficiencies in the decoration and inscriptions. I believe that the visual documentation of the wooden lantern added by the Ottoman Amir is the most important element in the previous discussion since it probably has not been represented in any other reference.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 603th report, 1920-24, 367.

The Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh

Erected in 817/1414, the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad was one of the most beautiful monuments in Cairo. Nevertheless, by the nineteenth century, it had become almost totally ruined. The mosque was erected by the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al- Mu'ayyad Abu'l-Nasr al-Mahmudi.¹¹⁹ It is situated at the site of a prison called Khizanat Shama'il, after the name of Amir 'Ilm al-Din Shama'il, governor of Cairo under the Sultan al-Malik al-Kamil. Al-Mu'ayyad was taken as a prisoner among other criminals, and he vowed to erect a mosque in the site if he was set free.¹²⁰ Behrens-Abouseif reported that, according to Sakhawi, the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad was the most lavishly decorated monument ever to be built after the Umayyad mosque of Damascus. Ibn Taghribirdi argued that the decoration of the sanctuary was the most significant of Mamluk architecture, and that the mosque was used to host religious feasts in which a lot of food and drink were served for the worshipers.¹²¹

Some photos from the nineteenth century of the interior of the mosque focused on the prayer hall. For example, a photo from Creswell's personal collection shows the prayer hall (Fig. 74) that forms a part of a hypostyle plan, and is the only one of the four *riwaqs* that survived. The others were reconstructed during the latest restoration.¹²² This latter was initiated in 2000 to restore the mosque and rebuild the southern, northern and western arcades.¹²³ The marble columns supporting the arches have Corinthian capitals. There are four Mamluk bell-shaped capitals in front of the mihrab to emphasize this area.¹²⁴ Wooden cross-beams run horizontally among the arches for more support. In this photo, the mihrab appears as a recessed niche with a slightly pointed arch flanked with two engaged marble columns. The mihrab is decorated with polychrome marble inlay with various designs one of

¹¹⁹ Coste, *Architecture arabe*, 38.

¹²⁰ Ravaisse, *Essaie*, 440.

¹²¹ Behrens-Abouseif, 244; and Al-Sakhawi, *al-Daw'* 3:310; and Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Nujūm* 4:90.

¹²² Behrens-AbouSeif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 243.

¹²³ Warner, *The Monuments*, 122.

¹²⁴ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 244.

which is the zigzag pattern in the hood. The mihrab is surmounted with a large marble rosette motif. The carved wooden minbar can be hardly seen, but one of the sides has a geometrical pattern inlaid. In the 108th report of the Comité dated 1891, the Commission in charge discovered a fragment of a Persian mosaic on the minbar. However, it was impossible to examine the mosaic work on the minbar unless the layers of paint were removed. Removal of the old paint showed that parts of it were gilded and painted with red and blue.¹²⁵ In 1897, the report of the Comité approved to replace the missing parts of ivory inlay on the minbar.¹²⁶ Regarding the *dikka* for the *mu'addhins*, it is partially displayed in the photo located in front of the mihrab and the minbar. It is a white marble structure with a *naskhi* inscription.

Another photo from Creswell's collection shows part of the carved and gilded ceiling (Fig. 75). It also shows a band of *naskhi* inscriptions running along the ceiling. Both photos show the marble revetment of the dado with rectangular polychrome designs.

Coste executed a lithograph of the sanctuary titled *Vue de la niche du sanctuaire et de la chaire de la mosquée el-Moyed* (Fig. 76) in which he displayed the marble columns and the Corinthian capitals supporting the arches. Supposedly, the bell-shaped capitals should have been in this area to mark the mihrab. Surprisingly, Coste represented the bell-shaped capitals in another lithograph titled *Vue du sanctuaire de la mosquée el-Moyed* (Fig. 77), but these were shifted to the forefront of the picture. Another contradiction in both lithographs is the presence of the wooden-beams that run horizontally in Fig. 77, but disappeared in Fig. 76. In this latter, Coste made a representation of the mihrab very similar to the original one, namely the marble decoration especially the zigzag pattern of the hood together with the engaged columns. He also represented faithfully the marble rosette surmounting the niche of the mihrab.

¹²⁵ *BCCMAA*, 108th report, 1891, 41.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, 224th report, 1897, 116.

The minbar is represented as a carved wooden structure with a geometrical pattern forming rosettes. According to the 108th report stated previously, did Coste made an authentic documentation of the minbar before it had been covered with paint? The geometrical pattern on one of the sides of the minbar could be a representation of the original mosaic work stated in the report of the Comité. Hence, one could speculate that the paint was added at some point in history after Coste sketched his lithograph, and before the restoration of the Comité. As for the *dikka* for the *mu'addhins*, it appears as a white marble structure well-proportioned with the space of the sanctuary. The Kursi is apparent, but it has not been documented in the bulletins of the Comité, as well. The same lithograph also shows the wooden *maqsura* that encloses the sanctuary with several openings. Surprisingly, this *maqsura* disappeared from a photo by Creswell (Fig. 78), probably during the restoration. Unfortunately, the Comité bulletins do not give any information about this *maqsura*.

Regarding the ceiling, Coste represented the coffers together with the band of *naskhi* inscription in Fig. 77; yet it is hard to compare the decoration for the unique photo by Creswell that shows the ceiling in Fig. 76 does not display much of it. Moreover, this photo displays the ceiling after the restoration. In the 176th report of the Comité dated 1893, Herz examined the work of the restoration of the ceiling of the sanctuary. The Commission in charge informed the ministry of *waqfs* that the woodwork restoration had been accomplished, and that the *waqfs* needs to proceed with the work of paint. During the examination led by Herz, the Commission in charge discovered large inscriptions and projecting arabesque from the old ceiling.¹²⁷ Unfortunately, the Comité did not publish any photos showing it. Consequently, it is possible that Coste documented the original one in his lithograph.

¹²⁷ BCCMAA, 176th, 1893, 148.

A bronze chandelier was taken from the Sultan Hasan mosque to be displayed in the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad.¹²⁸ In the monography made for the Sultan Hasan discussed earlier in this chapter, Herz reported that a bronze chandelier (Fig. 79) that consists of three tiers and a dedication to Sultan Hasan in *naskhi* inscription was displayed in the sanctuary of the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad, and he argued that the chandelier could be recognized, despite the small scale, in the lithograph by Coste (Figs. 80 and 81).¹²⁹

David Roberts represented the interior of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh in a lithograph titled *Interior of the Mosque of the Metwalys* (Fig. 82). The latter name originated from a devout saint, or *wali* who was supposed mysteriously to visit the site, and from which it had acquired its name.¹³⁰ Roberts represented the sanctuary with the marble columns and Corinthian capitals. Yet the bell-shaped capitals that mark the area of the mihrab were replaced with Corinthian capitals. He represented the wooden beams, but only in one direction parallel to the qibla wall. The mihrab is not apparent in this lithograph. The minbar is hidden as well; thus, it is impossible to compare it to the reports of the Comité, or to the minbar represented by Coste. Roberts pointed out, in the textual description of the plate, the decorated minbar where preacher, or *imam* gives his speech before the worshipers surrounding him, and before whom is placed a large copy of the Qur'an for him to read.¹³¹ Yet he did not mention any details about its decoration. In his lithograph, the *dikka* for the *mu'addhins* is represented but out of proportion, and Roberts evidently mistook it for the minbar. The wooden ceiling in Roberts' lithograph is coffered, carved and painted; yet it is fading that the details cannot be recognized.

The chandelier mentioned earlier is represented in this lithograph (Fig. 83). However, it was not faithfully represented compared to Fig. 79.

¹²⁸ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 241.

¹²⁹ Herz, *La mosquée*, 8.

¹³⁰ Roberts, *Egypt and Nubia*, 223.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, 251.

According to the above discussion, the representations of Coste and Roberts are mostly faithful. The present-day sanctuary has not been changed. The lithographs assert that the conservation made by the Comité, apparently, maintained the original appearance of the prayer hall.

Chapter III

Figures and Traditions within Islamic Setting: Representing Exoticism

In contrast to the first type of orientalist painter discussed in chapter two, this type of painter is different. The painters discussed here focused on the figural representation of local inhabitants and their culture. They placed these figures in the foreground of their paintings. Their target was not to record a monument but the exotic traditions and rituals of Muslims they encountered in Cairo. As discussed earlier in the introduction of this paper, these European artists studied Islamic art and architecture to make their scenes look “real” and authentic; hence, to convince the Western audience with the Oriental lifestyle as they perceived.

Sometimes, the context becomes a stereotype as in the two paintings executed by Gérôme titled *The Prisoner* (1861) (Fig. 84) and *Excursion of the Harem* (1869) (Fig. 85). These painters interpreted the Orient from their personal points of view. They represented local inhabitants with their various costumes and vivid colors, their manners and traditions, and their religious and social cultures. The paintings were a close-up of the people on display in which the expressions of the faces were clear. Most of these artists commonly had short stays in Egypt; hence, they had only a superficial perception of the people and their religious and social traditions.

Noticeably, this type of painter did not compile their work in a volume or an album; instead, their work was displayed in exhibitions like the Salon de Paris and the Royal Academy, and sold separately. Sometimes their paintings were used as illustrations for travel books.

It is worth mentioning that some of these European painters had never visited the East, or Egypt in particular, or they hired engravers who had never been there; hence, their paintings had many influences such as the tales of *The Thousand and One Nights* translated by Antoine Galland in 1704-1708,¹³² translated Persian poetry and Indian tales, or the paintings and travel accounts of other orientalist who had actually been in the East and described it thoroughly, such as the French writer Francois-René Chateaubriand and the British poet Lord Byron.¹³³

In this chapter, I will discuss selections from work executed by Jean-Léon Gérôme, Frederick Lewis, Frank Dillon and a few others.

Representations of Religious Monuments

The Public Prayer in the Mosque of ‘Amr by Jean-Léon Gérôme, 1872

Jean-Léon Gérôme was born in France in 1824. His artistic talent showed at the age of sixteen, and he received several prizes in oil painting from the Lycée de Vesoul, now Lycée Gérôme.¹³⁴ He first visited Egypt in 1857. He started a journey from Damietta to Philae with some artists for four months, then resided in Cairo for another four months in one of Sulayman Pasha’s houses.¹³⁵ He also later displayed his paintings in the Salon de Paris.¹³⁶

Gérôme made representations of Muslim religious traditions such as the *Public Prayer in the Mosque of ‘Amr* (Fig. 86) in 1870 in which he depicted worshipers in the sanctuary of the mosque of ‘Amr ibn al-‘As. It is oil on canvas currently in the collection of

¹³² ‘Ukasha, *Misr fi ‘uyun* 2:402.

¹³³ Ibid 2:406-7.

¹³⁴ Ackerman, *Jean-Leon Gérôme*, 10-2. In his diaries, Gérôme stated that he was not certain about his birth place, but it was in Vesoul that he “first saw the light of day”. Awkwardly, he stated that Vesoul is a little Spanish city; yet, it is in France.

¹³⁵ Lemaire, *L’univers*, 238.

¹³⁶ Ackerman, *Jean-Leon Gérôme*, 44, 48.

the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.¹³⁷ Gérôme represented a public prayer that occurred in the hypostyle sanctuary of the mosque located in Fustat.

The mosque underwent several phases of restoration and renovation. Creswell stated that the mosque underwent a phase of restoration during the time of Muhammad ‘Ali.¹³⁸ Another phase was the work made by Murad Bey in 1800 which included the re-arrangement of its columns.¹³⁹ Williams reported that Murad Bey restored the mosque in 1798 just before the French Expedition,¹⁴⁰ and Creswell mentioned two mihrabs in the sanctuary in the same year, 1211-2/1798. Shortly after Murad’s restoration, Pascal Coste stated that the mosque was abandoned, and it became ruined. The mosque of ‘Amr was most likely abandoned until the restoration by the Comité that started around 1927, and consisted of a reconstruction of the historic monument.

A photograph from Creswell’s personal collection shows the qibla wall of the mosque of ‘Amr displaying the hypostyle sanctuary that consists of a series of curved arches supported on marble columns with Corinthian capitals (Figs. 87 and 88). There are wooden beams running horizontally for more support. The photo also displays the mihrab together with the carved wooden minbar. The mihrab is a recessed niche within a rectangular frame inlaid with marble with various floriated patterns. It is flanked by two marble columns. It is worth mentioning that the mihrab of the mosque of ‘Amr was originally flat. In 92 /710, a phase of restoration embarked by the Umayyad governor, Qurra ibn Shurayk, which included the creation of a recessed mihrab inspired by the one in the mosque of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz in Medina. To emphasize the area of the mihrab, he painted the four capitals in front of the mihrab in gold. Moreover, he commissioned a new minbar.¹⁴¹ Regarding the minbar, it is

¹³⁷ Ibid, 95.

¹³⁸ Creswell, *Short Account*, 306.

¹³⁹ Ibid, 305; Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 49-50; Williams, *Islamic Monuments*, 39.

¹⁴⁰ Williams, *Islamic Monuments*, 39.

¹⁴¹ BCCMAA, 1930-32, 660th report, 151-2.

a carved wooden structure with a geometrical pattern displayed on its side, and its door is crowned with crenellations. Awkwardly, Creswell did not mention it in his account. In addition, there are not any information regarding the restorations of the mihrab or the minbar reported in the bulletins. Accordingly, the mihrab and the minbar shown in the photograph are probably the originals. On the other hand, al-Jabarti stated that an assembly was held in the mosque on the last Friday of Ramadan 1212/1798 after the restoration of Murad Bey.¹⁴² Besides, the mosque was functioning during the restoration by the Comité especially in Ramadan.¹⁴³ Consequently, the mihrab and the minbar were in usage. The ceiling in Creswell's photo is wooden and fortified by wooden beams. In 1899, the ministry of *waqfs* suggested renovating the wooden ceiling, and the Comité approved its proposal.¹⁴⁴ The pavement of the qibla hall is plain as it shows in the photo by Creswell. Excavations were running in the mosque of 'Amr since 1927 that resulted in the discovery of the original pavement in the *sahn*.¹⁴⁵ Accordingly, the pavement apparent in the photo is most probably the original.

Back to the painting by Gérôme, the painter added red and white *ablaq* masonry to the arches that do not appear in Creswell's photograph. However, he depicted a faithful series of marble columns with Corinthian capitals supporting the arches together with the wooden beams. Gérôme added different examples of metal lamps that seem to be in bronze. These are not shown in the photograph by Creswell. Accordingly, one would speculate that these lamps were a fabricated artistic feature, or the lamps actually existed and removed later for preservation, probably in the Museum. Yet nothing about these lamps was reported in the Comité *Bulletins*. Gérôme represented the mihrab together with the minbar on the qibla wall. Nevertheless, the mihrab in his painting is a simple recessed niche flanked with two columns.

¹⁴² Creswell, *Short Account*, 305.

¹⁴³ *BCCMAA*, 1930-32, 654th report, 78.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 1899, 258th report, 95.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 1927-9, 636th report, 138-8.

It lacks the frame with marble mentioned earlier in the photo by Creswell (Fig. 89). Consequently, one would think whether Gérôme accurately represented the mihrab at that time, or did the Comité restored it? In the previous chapter, we encountered many restorations embarked by the Comité, and evidently, they kept the original appearance of the monuments. Therefore, the mihrab depicted by Gérôme could be simplified because it was not the focal point of the drawing. Regarding the minbar, it is partially hidden; yet the crenellations crowning its door is apparent. Thus, the minbar in Creswell's photo is most probably the original minbar since Gérôme represented it before the latest restoration by the Comité. As for the ceiling in Gérôme's painting, it asserts that it is faithfully represented since it is the same as in Creswell's photo; namely after the restoration by the *waqfs* mentioned earlier. Regarding the pavement, Gérôme depicted a colorful geometrical pattern, a feature that also does not exist in the photograph. The pavements could be from his imagination, or, less likely, they could have been altered in the later restoration.

To conclude, assuming that this painting executed by Gérôme is faithful, this painting should be a valuable one for it recorded the appearance of the sanctuary of the mosque of 'Amr ibn al-'As before the restoration by the Comité. Given the statement made previously by Pascal Coste, the prayer hall should have been represented in a deteriorated status especially since that Gérôme drew this painting seventy-four years after the restoration by Murad Bey.

The Call to Prayer by Jean-Léon Gérôme, 1866 and 1879-80

Gérôme represented the *Call to Prayer* several times; one time in 1866 (Fig. 90) and another time in 1879-80 (Fig. 91). Both paintings were a representation of the minaret of the madrasa of the Mamluk Amir Khayrbak. A recent photo (Fig. 92) shows the minaret and the dome as they appear in the present-day. Behrens-Abouseif argues that the construction of the

minaret may not be outstanding. She also argues that its structure must have been inspired by the minaret of Aqsunqur. The minaret of Khayrbak is a brick construction decorated with stucco. It consists of three storeys which the first is octagonal and includes an arrangement of keel-arches. The upper two storeys consists of balconies with wooden railings surmounted by the bulb that was made of timber lath and plaster. On the upper storey, there is a series of columns with capitals of stalactite supporting the bulb. The bulb is likely to have been original. The date of construction is uncertain, and Behrens-Abouseif claimed that it could have been built under Ottoman rule in Mamluk style.¹⁴⁶ Regarding the dome, it is carved and decorated with a concentric stone courses with whirling rosette in the centre.¹⁴⁷ The drum has a series of arched openings surmounted by a band of *naskhi* inscription.

The minaret and the dome of Khayrbak were represented in a lithograph by d'Avennes in his *Arab Art* (Fig. 93). The details are accurately represented, and it shows that the minaret and the dome kept their original appearance. Unfortunately, the finial of the minaret is apparent neither in the photo, nor in d'Avennes' lithograph.

The Call to Prayer of 1866 was depicted on the top of the minaret overlooking the mosque of Qanibay Qara with its significant double-headed upper structure on a rectangular shaft. In this painting, Gérôme placed the *mu'addhin* on the upper balcony. He represented the wooden railing together with the series of columns with stalactite capitals behind. The bulb that partially appears is supported by the columns; yet Gérôme added another balcony with wooden railing that surrounds the bulb. This wooden railing does not appear in the recent photo, or in the lithograph by d'Avennes.

In the other painting dated 1879-80, Gérôme used the same minaret for his representation. However, the architectural setting is not accurate. He also added a third

¹⁴⁶ Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 313.

¹⁴⁷ Behrens-Abouseif and Warner, *The Minarets of Cairo*, 283.

balcony with wooden railing surrounding the bulb in which he placed the *mu'addhin*, and the series of columns beneath. In this painting, the dome partially appears with its carved arabesque decoration. The gilt finial of the minaret appears as two small bulbs surmounted with a crescent. Although it is difficult to confirm that this is the original shape of the finial since the comparison cannot be made, it is most likely that it is accurately represented since most of the decorative features of the minaret and the dome apparent in this painting are faithfully depicted.

The Whirling Dervishes by Jean-Léon Gérôme, 1895

Gérôme exhibited a lively scene of whirling dervishes (Fig. 84) which occurred in the interior of Tekke of Qasr al-‘Ayni as it has been recently identified (Fig. 85).¹⁴⁸ It was a fifteenth century Sufi *zawiya* in Cairo located across from the Rhoda Island on the eastern bank of the Nile. The Tekke was demolished in the early twentieth century to expand a neighboring hospital known today as the teaching hospital of Qasr al-‘Ayni. The monument in the painting was mistakenly identified as Qubbat Ma‘bad al-Rifa‘i by Stevens.¹⁴⁹ The Tekke of Qasr al-‘Ayni was to serve the Sufis of al-Bektashiyya *tariqa* centered in Anatolia and represented in Egypt. In 1570, Evliya Çelebi, a seventeenth century Ottoman traveler, reported that there were three *takayas* serving this *tariqa*. The Tekke of Qasr al-‘Ayni was the main Bektashi *tekke* in Cairo.¹⁵⁰ It was also the only one remaining at the beginning of the 19th century.¹⁵¹ This Tekke had a hybrid history; it belonged to different Sufi orders at various points in time.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ “Jean-Léon Gérôme”, accessed November 7, 2017.

¹⁴⁹ Stevens, *The Orientalists*, 147.

¹⁵⁰ Winter, *Egyptian Society*, 132.

¹⁵¹ Jong, *Turuq and Turuq-Linked*, 26.

¹⁵² “Jean-Léon Gérôme”, accessed September 25, 2017.

The Sufi *zawiya* consisted of a courtyard and two domes one of which is larger than the other.¹⁵³ The photo displays the monument which consisted of a dome resting on a square base, and the transition zone is apparent from the exterior. The photo also displays the interior of the dome with one of the squinches; it is plain and slightly pointed. There were several tiers of muqarnas interrupted by small windows. The photo partially displays the mihrab niche on the left hand-side surmounted by one of the small windows, but it is hard to recognize its architectural features from its deteriorated status.

The painting executed by Gérôme is a valuable reference because it documented this historic building that has already disappeared. The painting shows the interior of the dome in which the squinches are represented accurately as they appear in the photo; plain and slightly pointed. The interior had a band of inscription on the drum set on an arabesque pattern, but this band was out of the point of view of the photo. The painting by Gérôme exhibited this band of *thuluth* inscription, but it is not accurate because the painter was not an Arabic reader like other European painters we encountered in the previous chapter. The mihrab is recessed and surmounted with double slightly pointed arches. There is no decoration on the spandrels except for two projecting bosses. The mihrab in the painting recalls the design of the portal of al-Nasir Muhammad with multiple pointed arches, and two decorative elements in the spandrels. Unfortunately, the mihrab can be hardly seen in the photo which makes the comparison very difficult.

The information about this painting is scarce. Although it was identified to be occurred in Cairo, it seems that this information cannot be evident. Azza Heikal classified it with the collection of orientalist paintings in Cairo; yet Lynn Thornton classified it with those of Turkey. The text she provided to describe this painting stated that the mevlevi of Pera in Istanbul dress in white skirts that float while they were whirling. Thornton adds that the

¹⁵³ Ibid, accessed September 25, 2017.

dervishes wore a cylindrical elongated hat,¹⁵⁴ similar to Ottoman headwear. The figures represented in the painting by Gérôme do not wear this type of headwear, except the whirling dervish in the centre of the circle. Most wear the ‘*imama*’ which was common in Egypt. Lane argued that the whirling exercise in Cairo was a ceremony known to be held on the tenth day of Muharram called ‘*Ashura*’, and this ceremony commemorated many sacred events one of which was the day on which al-Husayn, the Prophet’s grandson was martyred at the battle of Karbala.¹⁵⁵ Lane gave a detailed description of their costume and their exercises. He reported that there were different nationalities present as well as different orders. Regarding their clothes, Lane stated that “some of them wore the ordinary turban and dress of Egypt; others wore the Turkish *kawuk*, or padded cap; and others again, wore high caps, or *tarturs*, mostly of the sugar-loaf shape”. He visited the ceremony of the day of ‘*Ashura*’, the day when the dervishes were performing in the mosque of al-Hasanayn (probably the mosque of al-Husayn), in which the head of al-Husayn is believed to be buried, according to Lane. He claimed that most of the dervishes were Egyptians, but among them there were many Turks and Persians. Forty of them formed a ring and started the *zikr* repeating the name of God. One of the mevlevis started to whirl in the middle of the ring, and extend his arms. The whirling increased in velocity until the skirt spread out like an umbrella.¹⁵⁶ It is challenging to determine whether Gérôme attended this *zikr* ceremony and took sketches on the spot inside the monument. Did he see it somewhere else, or read about it in travelers’ accounts, and integrated it into the interior of the Tekke? Lane wrote that when he attended the *zikr* ceremony on the day of ‘*Ashura*’ there was a “risk of my being discovered to be no darwish”.¹⁵⁷ Some of the figures surrounding the whirling dervish are likely to belong to the Rifa‘iyya order known in the West as the “howling” dervishes. These formed an unusual

¹⁵⁴ Thornton, *Du Maroc aux Indes*, 176.

¹⁵⁵ Lane, *An Account*, 428.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 429, 432.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 432.

assembly of two distinct Sufi orders that may have served to attract foreign tourists rather than an authentic Sufi ritual. Therefore, Gérôme may have represented a typical experience of a western traveler in Cairo in the late 19th century.¹⁵⁸

Sheikh distributing alms by Frederick Goodall, 1865

Frederick Goodall, a British artist (1822-1904), was a well-known painter and member of the Royal Academy. His father, Edward Goodall, was an engraver who taught him anatomy of humans and animals which was of great usefulness in his work. Goodall visited Egypt in 1858-1859 for six to seven months. He tried to sketch the various scenes that he encountered in the streets of Cairo. During his stay in Egypt, he met his friend, Carl Haag, and both made several trips inside and outside Cairo.¹⁵⁹

His *Sheikh Distributing Alms* (Fig. 86) is watercolor over pencil. It represents one of the Muslim duties. The scene ostensibly occurred in the northern cemetery in front of the complex of Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbay. The following discussion is an attempt to demonstrate this assumption.

Although the placement of the minaret and the dome in the background is incorrect, the architectural features of the monument are very close to the actual one. The painting shows a crowd in the necropolis; visiting the cemetery on Fridays and major feast days had been always a tradition, especially among women, as a gesture to the dead.¹⁶⁰ Since the drawing is neither a study of the monument, nor a documentation of its architecture one will notice that the mosque is not identical to the actual one. However, it could be recognized in Goodall's painting by the elaborate portal with its vaulted trilobed arch, ablaq and carved muqarnas (Fig. 87). Moreover, the *sabil-kuttab* on the northeastern side of the façade could

¹⁵⁸ "Jean-Léon Gérôme", accessed November 7, 2017

¹⁵⁹ Ackerman, *Les orientalistes*, 90-2.

¹⁶⁰ Williams, *Islamic Monuments*, 233.

also be recognized by the double arched windows with the column in the middle together with the wooden beams (Fig. 88). In comparison to the engraving executed by David Roberts (Fig. 89) and to a photograph by the Comité (Fig. 90) the *sabil-kuttab* had another group of arched windows surmounted by a wooden parapet on the side façade together with the fleur-de-lys crenellations on the top (Fig. 91). Yet the dome of the mosque with its geometrical pattern that covers it depicted in Roberts' engraving is not extant in the drawing of Goodall. Surprisingly, a similar dome with a drum pierced with windows and a finial appears on the left-hand side of the painting. Moreover, the minaret of the complex that should be attached to the right-hand side of the monument appears on the left-hand side in Goodall's painting. Perhaps he copied the dome and the minaret and placed them in these new locations in the background so that they could be better seen rather than cut them by the frame of the drawing. Although the monument in Goodall's painting is not shown in detail, some architectural features can still be observed such as the *ablaq* masonry. In addition, one can notice that the minaret has an octagonal shaft, and three richly decorated tiers. The mosque was originally connected on the western and southern sides to other structures.

Goodall may have utilized this monument as a background for his painting because the Qaytbay complex was considered the jewel of the late Mamluk architecture in which the decorative arts and the well-proportioned architecture reached their peak.¹⁶¹ The interpretation of the mosque is challenging because the monument in question is similar to many other Mamluk buildings in Cairo. However, the setting of the portal and the *sabil-kuttab* together with the form of the dome and the minaret suggest that Goodall chose this monument to serve as a background to his painting.

¹⁶¹ Williams, *Islamic Monuments*, 244.

Representations of Secular or Residential Buildings

In the late nineteenth century, there were massive demolitions of Mamluk and Ottoman houses, and these were rarely recorded in drawings or paintings.¹⁶² Fortunately, a few views of these houses were preserved thanks to the documentation of European artists such as Frank Dillon and John Frederick Lewis.

Frank Dillon was a British artist (1823-1909) who visited Egypt for the first time in the winter of 1854-5, followed by further visits. He had an important role in the preservation of Egyptian monuments. He made watercolor studies of some important Mamluk residences in Cairo, interior and exterior, as part of his preservation project. His work served to record some of the noticeable houses in Cairo¹⁶³ such as the house of Sheikh al-Sadat al-Wafa'iyya. This latter was represented several times by Dillon.

Despite the authenticity of the architectural features, the female figures inside the harem in Dillon's paintings as well as in others painters' work were imaginary. While in Egypt, Lane argued that a man was not allowed to see unveiled women except his wives or his female slaves, and females whom he is prohibited by law from marrying because of family connections. Moreover, male visitors had to call out, especially in small Cairene houses, to warn any woman who might be in the way to retire or veil herself.¹⁶⁴ Thus, there was no possibility to have a stranger inside the harem when these scenes were recorded, and since harems were forbidden to male strangers, orientalist artists could give rein to their full imagination.¹⁶⁵ But what inspired orientalist painters to paint unveiled female figures? Fesquet classified Cairene women in the streets into two groups according to their appearance, the "gallant" and the "decent". The first group defines the ghawazis, or the

¹⁶² Seif, "Topographical Photography", 13.

¹⁶³ Ackerman, *Les orientalistes*, 72.

¹⁶⁴ Lane, *An Account*, 177-8.

¹⁶⁵ Thornton, *Women as Portrayed*, 20.

dancers. Their rich elegant clothes revealed the beauty of their figures, the other “decent” group completely covered their bodies from head to toes with thick clothes. Only their eyes could be seen behind a dark veil.¹⁶⁶ I believe that travelers, while representing the harem, were inspired by the ghawazis, or the dancers who performed in public places such as coffee shops. Travelers observed the ghawazis’ motions and costumes. David Roberts stated that the ghawazis were the dancing girls dancing unveiled in the public streets to amuse the people on occasions of festivity. He added that they were never admitted to a respectable harem, and among them were the most handsome and finest women of Egypt.¹⁶⁷

Noticeably, representations of residences in *La description de l’Egypte* included only exterior views except for a few interiors without displaying any figures which also suggests that access to the harem was prohibited, and that its representation in later orientalist paintings was imaginary. Hence, most of the interiors depicted in paintings, engravings and even photographs during the late nineteenth century were captured when these houses were abandoned prior to their demolition. Edward Lane wrote a detailed description of the interior of common private houses in Cairo; yet his description of the harem was less detailed. I believe that the description of the interior served to give an image of what the harem looked like in these houses. Fortunately, the bulletins of the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l’art arabe* display a group of photographs of residences in Cairo such as the house of Amna bint Salim (now the Gayer Anderson Museum) (Fig. 92), the waqf of ‘Uthman Katkhuda (Fig. 93) and the palace of the Musafirkhana (Fig. 94). These photographs are very helpful in the following discussion for they serve as reference for the comparison.

¹⁶⁶ Fesquet, *Voyage d’Horace*, 71-3.

¹⁶⁷ Roberts, *Egypt and Nubia*, 284; Lane, *An Account*, 378.

The Reception by Frederick Lewis, 1873

The British painter, John Frederick Lewis painted *The Reception* in 1873 (Fig. 95). The scene occurred in the Musafirkhana palace for the interior decoration of the reception hall resembles the one represented in the painting. The remains of the palace, which burnt down in November 1998,¹⁶⁸ are situated in al-Gamaliyya. It witnessed the birth of Isma‘il Pasha, and was used by the family of Muhammad ‘Ali for receiving prominent figures. The date and name of founder are unknown, but two dates appear on a lintel, 1193 and 1203 H., that may indicate the date of construction.¹⁶⁹ Williams argued that the painting of *The Reception* was a representation of the main *qa‘a* of Lewis’s residence in Cairo.¹⁷⁰ She stated that his friend, William Thackeray, visited him in 1844, and wrote an account about Lewis’s oriental lifestyle. This latter resided in a rented house in al-Azbakiyya quarter known to be a house of a Mamluk Bey murdered by Muhammad ‘Ali in 1811.¹⁷¹ The lavish interior decoration of the residence corresponded to Thackeray’s description, according to Williams; he said that “all the ceiling is carved, gilt, painted and embroidered with arabesques, and choice sentences of eastern writing”.¹⁷²

Almost every Cairene house had an open and unpaved court called a *hush* which is entered by a passage that is constructed with one or two turnings so as not to be exposed to the passersby in the street.¹⁷³ The harem, or the women’s apartments in domestic residences could be accessed through a door in the court that leads upstairs.¹⁷⁴ The house had a *mandara* in which male visitors were received. A small part of the floor, extending from the door to the opposite side of the room was a little lower than the rest, was called the *durqa‘a*. Some

¹⁶⁸ “Musafirkhana” in *Archnet*, accessed September 24, 2017.

¹⁶⁹ Revault and Maury, *Palais et maisons* 3:133.

¹⁷⁰ Williams, “John Frederick Lewis”, 228.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, 227.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, 228.

¹⁷³ Lane, *An Account*, 9.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 11.

houses had the *mandara* paved with black and white marble inlaid with little fine red pieces of tiles with tasteful and complicated patterns (Fig. 96). In the centre, there was a fountain (*fasqiyya*) placed in a shallow pool lined with colored marble like the surrounding pavement. The water that fell from the fountain was drained from the pool by a pipe.¹⁷⁵

Lewis depicted two female figures on an elevated floor which has been described by Lane as a *leewan*, or *iwan*. This latter was generally paved with common stone and covered with a mat in summer, and a carpet over the mat in winter. The *iwan* enclosed a *diwan* that had a mattress, and cushions placed against the three walls. Both mattresses and cushions were stuffed with cotton and covered with expensive and fancy cloth. Lane added that every person slipped off his shoes on the *durqa'a* before stepping on the *iwan*.¹⁷⁶ In his painting, Lewis represented the *mandara* of the *salamlik*, but displayed female figures in it. This *mandara* was described in *Palais et maisons* as the most beautiful space in the *salamlik*. It consisted of a central *durqa'a* surrounded by three iwans, and the *durqa'a* had a pool and a fountain. This *mandara* included large openings for lighting on all sides except for the eastern one.¹⁷⁷ This interior was used as a sitting place to benefit from the cool weather all year.

The shallow pool and the fountain in the centre were represented in Lewis's painting. He represented a geometrical pattern of lozenges and six-pointed stars in the pavement that surrounds the pool, and the scene is reflected in the shallow water. In a black and white photograph of the Musafirkhana reception hall published in *Palais et maisons* (Fig. 97), the pavement consisted of marble inlay, a square pool in the center and a polylobed fountain decorated with polychrome mosaics. Lewis represented a large square pool decorated with marble inlay and polychrome mosaics, but he did not represent the polylobed fountain. The

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 11.

¹⁷⁶ Lane, *An Account*, 11-13. Lane argued that the main reason for this custom was to keep the *iwan* clean upon which prayer was usually made.

¹⁷⁷ Revault and Maury, *Palais et maisons* 3:139.

water spout by Lewis looks also different than the actual one. Moreover, the water spouts displayed in the engraving of *Vue interieure de la maison de Solyman Agha* (Fig. 98) and in the photo of *Palais et maisons* (Fig. 97) look different than the one depicted in the painting by Lewis. D'Avennes represented a *Mandara, Reception Salon Room on the Ground Floor* (Fig. 99) in which the *durqa 'a* has a pool and a polylobed fountain in the middle surrounded by a pavement decorated with marble inlay and mosaics. Interestingly, the fountain recalls the other examples we encountered in other engravings, but completely different than the one represented in the painting.

The photo captured inside the *qa 'a* of the House of Amna bint Salim (now the Gayer Anderson Museum) published in the Comité *Bulletin* dated 1841-45 (Fig. 92), suggests that Edward Lane had faithfully described the interior of the *mandara*. The photo exhibits all the details of the marble pavement with the polylobed fountain in the centre. The photo also shows the carved wooden ceiling together with large openings on one side of the hall, like the palace of the Musafirkhana. The photo captured inside the waqf of 'Usman Katkhuda (Fig. 93) displays the same interior decoration, namely the *durqa 'a*, the marble lozenges in the pavement, the polylobed fountain and the elegant wooden ceiling of the *mandara*.

According to Lane, the ceiling over the *iwan* of the *salamlik* was made of wood with carved beams partially painted, and sometimes gilt. The ceiling over the *durqa 'a* was loftier and lavishly decorated. Instead of the beams, the ceiling over the *durqa 'a* had numerous thin strips of wood nailed upon the planks forming fine patterns painted green, yellow, and blue and sometimes gilt. Lane argued that usually cupolas were erected in the harem reception hall as will be discussed further.¹⁷⁸ A photo in the *salamlik* of the musafirkhana (Fig. 100) displays the carved and painted wooden ceiling. Surprisingly, there is a lantern over the

¹⁷⁸ Lane, *An Account*, 15-16.

durqa 'a that consisted of a wooden cupola pierced with arched windows.¹⁷⁹ Another photograph provided by the Comité *Bulletins* 1915-19 taken inside the Palace of the Musafirkhana (Fig. 94) displays the *salamlik* with this cupola surmounting the central *durqa 'a*.

Lane reported that inside the harem located on the upper apartments of the house there would be a lofty hall, or *qa 'a* which had two iwans, one on each side of a person entering. One of these was larger and more decorated than the other. The *qa 'a* did not commonly have a fountain, but a marble pavement similar to the one in the *mandara*. Moreover, the upper apartments of the harem had projecting lattice-work windows, or *mashrabiyyas* above which were colored-glass windows generally placed in a row representing flowers, peacocks and other patterns with pleasing effects. These windows were called *qamariyya*; they were made of small pieces of glass of various colors set in fine plaster and enclosed in a frame of wood. Some were placed on the upper part of the walls, usually individually or in pairs side by side.¹⁸⁰ In front of the door, at the end of the *durqa 'a*, there was a shelf of marble or of stone called a *suffa* supported with two or more arches, and used to store utensils such as perfuming vessels, and a basin and ewer used for ablution or washing hands after meals. In *La description de l'Egypte*, a few exterior views of domestic houses were provided showing the court, or *hush* and the lattice-work windows of the upper apartments. The *Vue interieure de la maison d'Osman Bey* (Fig. 101) presents a projecting *mashrabiyya* on the left-hand side of the picture, and three tiers of windows on the other side that are made probably with colored glass and stucco frames. Another engraving titled *Vue interieure du palais de Qasim Bey* (Fig. 102) displays the projecting *mashrabiyya* located on the upper floor overlooking the open court of the fancy house. Prisse d'Avennes executed several engravings inside houses of Cairo. The one titled *Sidi Yusuf Adami House, Upstairs Salon* (Fig. 103) and the *Room for the*

¹⁷⁹ Revault and Maury, *Palais et maisons* 3:140.

¹⁸⁰ Lane, *An Account*, 18.

Wet-Nurse (Fig. 104) display the marble shelves, or *suffa* represented together with the colored-glass windows on the upper part of the wall. Inside the *mandara* there were shallow cupboards built into the walls, the doors of which were composed of very small panels with various geometrical patterns of pointed stars and lozenges on account of the heat and dryness of the climate which caused wood to warp and shrink.¹⁸¹ In contrast to Lane's description, the male reception hall of the Musafirkhana had a *dulab*, or cupboard which hid an old door. This latter led to an adjacent room. This *dulab*, or cupboard was made of rectangular wooden panels together with open shelves.¹⁸²

In the harem, Lane reported that the ceiling over the *durqa'a* that divided the two *iwans* was more elevated than the rest, and in the centre it had a small lantern called *mimraq*, the sides of which were formed with lattice-work and supported a cupola.¹⁸³ Two photographs published in *Palais et maisons* exhibit the *qa'a* of the harem with a partial view of the ceiling (Fig. 105). Another photo exhibits the group of wooden ceilings together with the lanterns (Fig. 106). Moreover, the two photos display the *iwans* surrounding the central *durqa'a* with large *mashrabiyyas* and a series of colored-glass windows above. Besides, at the end of each *iwan* there is a built-in wooden cupboard and open shelves which Lane mentioned in his account. The two photos also display the wooden ceilings of the *iwans* that surround the central *durqa'a*; these are carved and painted. Interestingly, like the description by Lane, the reception hall of the harem does not include any pool or fountain in the centre. An engraving in *La description de l'Egypte* titled *Coupes et vue interieure d'une grande sale de la maison de Hassan Kachéf, destiné aux séances de l'institut* (Fig. 107) exhibits a reception hall in the harem. In this engraving, the ceiling was decorated with wooden beams, and had a lantern surmounting the *durqa'a*. This latter does not include any fountains. The

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 14.

¹⁸² Revault and Maury, *Palais et maisons* 3:141. The photograph published in *Palais et maisons* does not show any built-in cupboards; probably they were out of view.

¹⁸³ Lane, *An Account*, 16.

engraving also displays the *dulabs*, or the wooden built-in cupboards in the foreground. Beyond, there are large windows, apparently representing *mashrabiyyas*, surmounted by a series of colored-glass windows in one of the lateral iwans (Fig. 108). Perhaps the scene must have been occurred inside the harem of the house after its evacuation.

Accordingly, the painting by Lewis is a combination of the male reception hall and the harem. In his painting, Lewis represented the marble inlay pavement of the male *qa'a* together with the pool and the polylobed fountain in the centre, and the *mashrabiyyas* surmounted by the colored-glass windows of the iwans of the harem. He also depicted the carved and painted wooden ceilings of the iwans, but did not represent the built-in wooden cupboards that appear in the photos. In the painting by Lewis, the central ceiling surmounting the *durqa'a* seems more elevated than those of the iwans; but because it is cut by the frame one cannot confirm whether Lewis wanted to represent a lantern or a wooden ceiling. A closer view of the painting reveals further differences. The *mashrabiyyas* in Lewis painting have various square designs on the upper tier, and horse-shoe arched openings on the lower tier. In the photo published in *Palais et maisons*, the *mashrabiyyas* are more than two tiers and the square designs look different. Moreover, the horse-shoe arched openings on the lower tier are not extant in the photos. The colored-glass windows above appear in only one tier in the actual monument while Lewis depicted two tiers of *qamariyyas*; the lower tier is higher than the upper one. As for the designs, they can be hardly seen in the photos, but it is obvious that Lewis made up some designs such as the cypress tree motif and intricate designs of a flower tree in the middle of an arcade (Fig. 109). Besides, Lewis did not represent the dado of marble. Perhaps he depicted the walls of the male reception hall which appear plain rather than the ones of the harem. The dado appears in a colored photo captured by Nasser Rabbat in 1985 in one of the rooms of the harem of the Musafirkhana Palace in which the *duraqa'a* and the wooden built-in cupboards are also apparent (Fig. 110).

The K'al, or (qa'a) in the Harem of Sheikh Sadat by Frank Dillon, 19th c.

Frank Dillon represented the *K'al, or qa'a, of the Harem of the Sheikh Sadat* (Fig. 111). The interior has the same features of the upper apartments of a domestic house namely the central *durqa'a*, iwans with projecting *mashrabiyyas* and a series of colored-glass windows above. Moreover, Dillon represented the wooden built-in cupboards and the recessed wooden niches on the walls of the iwans.

Sheikh Sadat al-Wafa'iyya was the Chief of the al-Wafa'iyya Sufi *tariqa* originated from the *Shaziliyya*.¹⁸⁴ His house was considered one of the most elegant residences in Cairo.¹⁸⁵ Dillon represented a lavishly carved and painted wooden ceiling decorated with bands of *muqarnas*. Two photographs published in *Palais et maisons, époque Ottomane*, vol. 2 (Fig. 112) show the colored-glass windows broken, and the *mashrabiyyas* in an endangered state. Apparently, conservators referred to the painting by Dillon to restore them for the great similarity of the design in the painting and a recent photo in 2017 (Fig. 113). A *naskhi* inscription is apparent in the upper part of the *mashrabiyya* of one of the lateral iwans that is partially represented in Dillon's painting. It reads *nasr min Allah wa fath qarib wa bashhir al-mu'minin ya Muhammad*.

In the other lateral iwan, an interesting geometrical design that consists of lozenges is apparent in the painting by Dillon, too. On the side wall of this iwan, Dillon depicted tiles with blue floral and vegetal motifs characteristic of Ottoman style of decoration (Fig. 114). These tiles are not extant in the photo published in *Palais et maisons* (Fig. 112), nor in the recent photo (Fig. 113). Surprisingly, these tiles disappeared in another painting by Dillon called *The Harem of Sheikh Sadat* which will be discussed next. Thus, I believe that these tiles were removed before sketching the next painting called *The Harem of Sheikh Sadat*, or

¹⁸⁴ Bakri, *Kitab bayt al-Sadat*, 63.

¹⁸⁵ Maury et al., *Palais et maisons, époque ottomane* 2:259.

added by Dillon for visual interest. Accordingly, the date of the *K'al, or qa'a, of the Harem of the Sheikh Sadat* should be earlier than 1870, the date of the next painting.

The Harem of Sheikh Sadat by Frank Dillon, 1870

The painting titled *The Harem of Sheikh Sadat* (Fig. 115) executed in 1870 corresponds closely to the description written by Lane about the interior of the harem, and to the photos of the actual monument. The painting is very similar to the previous one titled the *Ka'l, or qa'a of the Harem of Sheikh Sadat* in terms of architectural features; however, the *Harem of Sheikh Sadat* exhibits the lantern that was usually used in the ceilings of the upper floor. Dillon excelled in representing the woodwork of the cupola with its drum pierced with arched windows. He also represented the transition zone accurately with its trilobed squinches alternating with a carved trilobed motif and a roundel in the centre. Moreover, the cupola is surrounded by wooden carved and painted beams with geometrical and floral designs (Figs. 116 and 117).

The *naskhi* inscription which appears in the *mashrabiyya*, and was mentioned earlier in the previous painting, clearly appears in this painting. Besides, Dillon represented correctly two tiers of *mashrabiyyas* surmounted by one tier of colored glass windows. The geometrical design of the *mashrabiyyas* that consists of squares and lozenges is very close to the actual monument. In this painting, Dillon also depicted faithfully the wooden built-in cupboards on the walls of the lateral iwans.

Regarding the floor, it seems that it was not an intricate pavement as it is shown in the photos. Dillon represented correctly a plain floor paved with monochrome marble.

The depiction of female figures in this interior is surely made-up for the reasons we discussed earlier in this chapter. However, unlike Lewis, Dillon displayed female figures in the correct reception hall of a house. In addition, Dillon excelled in representing an accurate

picture of a residence in Cairo which will serve as a reliable reference for reconstructing these residences, or for their conservation.

Representations of Fantasies

On the other hand, some painters were inspired by travelers' notes and accounts about events and festivities occurring in the harem, and they represented them within an Islamic architectural setting. The most significant are musical events and dances of the *'almas*, or the female dancers.

The Dance of the *Nahleh*, or the Wasp by Vincenzo Marinelli, 1862.

Several painters depicted the subject of the dance of the *nahla*, or the wasp. The subject was represented by the Italian painter, Vincenzo Marinelli, in 1862 (Fig. 118).¹⁸⁶ Marinelli visited Egypt during the reign of the Ottoman Khedive, Sa'id Pasha, and accompanied him to Sudan for nine months. In 1869, he was invited to the inauguration of the Suez Canal, then headed to first cataract of the Nile.¹⁸⁷ Given his stay in Egypt, Marinelli seems to have learned some of the Egyptian traditions.

The performance consists of an act of undressing in which the dancer pretends to have been pursued by an insect, and she attempts to seize it.¹⁸⁸ This subject was not mentioned in the chapter about dancers and dancing in the account of Edward Lane.

For the interior, the painter constructed an arcade with keel arches supported on marble columns. Behind the arcade there is a window that consists of triple-light composition with a double horse-shoe arches and an oculus. This composition of the window has been seen before in many Mamluk buildings such as the Qalawun complex and the Sultan Hasan

¹⁸⁶ Heikal, *L'Egypte illustrée*, 53.

¹⁸⁷ di Rosalba, "Vincenzo Marinelli", accessed 23 August, 2017.

¹⁸⁸ Heikal, *L'Egypte illustrée*, 53; Fesquet, *Voyage d'Horace Vernet*, 75; Clot-Bey, *Aperçu général* 2:93.

mosque. One could strongly assume that the representation of this interior was the painter's invention. The interior is not a typical Egyptian *qa'a* with a central *durqa'a* and lateral iwans. Instead, the iwan represented in this painting is elevated in an exaggerated way with many steps leading to the arcade. Moreover, there are neither projecting lattice-work windows nor colored-glass windows above.

According to the previous discussion of the interior of domestic residences in Cairo together and given the short stay of Marinelli in Egypt, the painter most probably did not see a true Cairene residence. Therefore, his painting was totally fabricated.

Chapter IV

Conclusion

European travelers who visited Egypt in the nineteenth century were fascinated by the exotic culture they encountered in this foreign land. They studied all aspects of life as part of the “observation” of non-western peoples living at remote places of the world. It was during that time that a preliminary idea of anthropology emerged in the West.¹⁸⁹ The study of the “others” resulted in masterpieces such as the compendium of *La description de l’Egypte* and many other works of art set in volumes, or displayed separately in exhibitions in Paris and London.

The first chapter discussed the reasons which motivated western countries to invade the Orient. The discussion pointed out the competition of the most powerful European empires during the mid-eighteenth century, namely France and Britain, until the French expedition to Egypt in 1798. They both aimed to provide a cheap labor force, raw materials and markets for their industrial products.¹⁹⁰ On the one hand, France wanted to control the trade routes with the Levant, and suppress the British control in India.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, Britain sought the protection of its colonies in India together with the Suez Isthmus in Egypt from any French threat.¹⁹² Despite the political failure of the French expedition, one result was the extraordinary masterpiece of *La description de l’Egypte*. In addition, the French expedition tempted European travelers to explore the Orient. These travelers acted as amateurs of art objects; they painted the extraordinary Islamic architecture, and represented the religious and social culture of the Muslims living in Cairo to introduce them to western

¹⁸⁹ Gérando, *The Observation*, 1-2.

¹⁹⁰ Stearns, *The Industrial Revolution*, 33-4.

¹⁹¹ Murat and Weill, *L’expédition d’Egypte*, 32.

¹⁹² Charles-Roux, *L’Angleterre et l’expédition*, i-ii.

audiences. These European painters were classified into two groups; those who recorded Islamic monuments and others who focused on the figures of local inhabitants, their religious and social traditions and rituals embedded in an Islamic context.

The contribution of the engravings of *La description de l’Egypte* is noticeable in both chapters. They served to compare the paintings and the photographs, and helped in the evaluation of the accuracy of these paintings as well as documenting some Islamic monuments from the time of the French expedition and before the restoration of the Comité.

In chapter two, I discussed the first group of European painters who recorded Islamic architecture focusing on architectural and decorative details. Nevertheless, they were influenced by European background. This influence was reflected in their representations. Therefore, variations in size, proportions and decorative features occurred. Yet the representations of this group of painters were, in many cases, a reliable reference for the reconstruction or the restoration of Islamic monuments especially since visual documentation of Islamic Cairo was absent at that time.

The biographies of these painters showed that they had long stays in Egypt. Sometimes, they practiced the participant-observer method to be able to merge entirely among the people.¹⁹³ Remarkably, they compiled their works of art in volumes such as *Egypt and Nubia* by David Roberts, *L’art arabe* by Prisse d’Avennes, *Architecture arabe, ou, monuments du Kaire* by Pascal Coste and *The Illustrations of Cairo* by Robert Hay.

The mosque of Sultan Hasan was one of the most important examples discussed in this chapter for it had attracted most European painters with its monumentality. It was depicted several times, especially the portal and the open court with the ablution fountain in the centre. Pascal Coste was captivated with the grandeur of the Sultan Hasan that he

¹⁹³ Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 32-3.

completed the unfinished decoration of the portal, influenced by the European traditions of the school of architecture in the Fine Arts. He also added *mushahhar* voussoirs to accentuate the vaults of the iwans. The lithographs discussed in this section represented the original fountain, and that the Comité kept its original features during the restoration of the mosque.

Another example discussed in this chapter is the mausoleum of the Sultaniyya together with the Qubba and Khanqa of Amir Qawsun in the *Tombs of the Memlooks, Cairo* by David Roberts. The comparison with other lithographs and photographs in this section confirmed that these two monuments were intact before the French expedition until 1809, the date of the lithograph. In addition, it shows that the dome of the Sultaniyya collapsed at some point after 1809 and before the early twentieth century when Creswell took his picture.

The mosque of al-Azhar was also represented several times. The lithograph by Prisse d'Avennes shows the northwestern façade together with the group of minarets during that time. Some changes occurred in the appearance of the present-day façade such as the construction of the Aqbughawiyya madrasa and the demolition of the lodge in the open court. The lithographs by Coste and Hay depicting the northwestern façade of the mosque are of a great importance because they visually documented the portal prior the modernization movement of the area of al-Azhar; features that do not appear clearly in the photographs.

The interior of the mausoleum of Qalawun depicted in the lithograph by Coste is valuable. It is probably the only illustration that shows the wooden ceiling constructed by ‘Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda before the present-day dome built by the Comité. Coste and d'Avennes also depicted the gable top that covered the tomb of the sultan; a wooden structure that disappeared at some point before the restoration of the Comité, and has not been mentioned in its bulletins.

The representation of the sanctuary of the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh is also significant. Roberts emphasized its grandeur and made it similar to European cathedrals. Coste made several important lithographs recording the old ceiling before the restoration by the Comité together with the representation of the wooden minbar. It was reported that this latter had several layers of paint that covered the original mosaic work. The chandelier of bronze mentioned in the monograph by Herz is also interesting because he argued that it was depicted in one of the lithographs by Coste. I believe that this chandelier was also depicted in the lithograph by Roberts. Yet it looks different than the original one.

Another type of painter was discussed in chapter three which consists of European artists who focused on the representations of exotic religious and social traditions of Egyptians living in Cairo at that time. Figures became the focal point of the painting embedded into an Islamic setting. These artists were not aiming to record Islamic monuments, but they were professional painters who gathered new materials about the Orient to be displayed in European exhibitions in Paris and London. Consequently, Islamic monuments were adjusted to fit the portraits. Nevertheless, they studied Islamic decorative and architectural features accurately, so that their depictions would reflect a “pseudo-realist” picture of the Orient; the Orient as they perceived it. Religious traditions and life in the harem were among the most significant paintings they executed. Most of European painters in this group had short stays in Egypt, or had never been there. This chapter included selections of the work of Jean-Léon Gérôme, Frederick Lewis, Frank Dillon and others. Noticeably, these painters displayed their work separately in exhibitions. The chapter is divided into three parts; namely religious, secular and fantasies.

The religious representations started with the painting executed by Gérôme displaying the sanctuary of the mosque of 'Amr ibn al-'As. It displays, most likely, the original recessed mihrab added by Qurra ibn Shurayk during one of the restoration phases of the mosque. Yet

the mihrab in the painting is simplified than the current one. Moreover, the painting partially displays the minbar crowned with crenellation as it appears today. Perhaps this is the original one added by Shurayk as explained before. Some of the decorative features in this painting are questionable such as the pavement and the hanging lamps.

Gérôme represented the minaret and the dome of the Khayrbak madrasa in his *Call to Prayer*. Interestingly, the representation of the architectural and decorative features of the minaret and the dome is very accurate; yet he added a third balcony on the top of the minaret with wooden railing. In addition, in one the paintings he mistakenly placed the *mu'addhin* in this balcony.

Gérôme also made a valuable representation of the Tekke of Qasr al-‘Ayni that has already disappeared. Both, the comparison of the painting and the unique photograph, show that Gérôme has most probably depicted the original interior.

The second part consists of the secular representations. It includes selections of the work of Frederick Lewis and Frank Dillon. Their representations are priceless because they made a visual documentation of Mamluk and Ottoman residences prior their demolition in the late nineteenth century. Some houses have already disappeared such as the one of the Musafirkhana, but thanks to the paintings of European artists these houses were visually preserved. Both artists made an accurate depiction of the houses with intricate decoration; however, the analysis reveal that the setting was sometime modified, probably for aesthetic purposes.

The last part in this chapter consists of the representation of fantasies. The painting by Vincenzo Marinelli represents a traditional dance inside the harem. Marinelli used different Islamic decorative features; however, the painting shows that he never visited a real Cairene house. The interior of the harem, according to a previous description, is totally fabricated.

In this paper, I discussed how reliable are these representations. Photos from various personal collections such as Sir Creswell, Pascal Sebah and others were used for making comparisons. Besides, some photos published in the Comité *Bulletins* and other sources were also used for more clarification. The reports of the Comité *Bulletins* were also of great use for they gave information about the restoration of monuments and their status before and after restoration. These photographs from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries together with present-day photos reveal a lot of details, and helped in the assessment of the accuracy of each painting.

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Figures

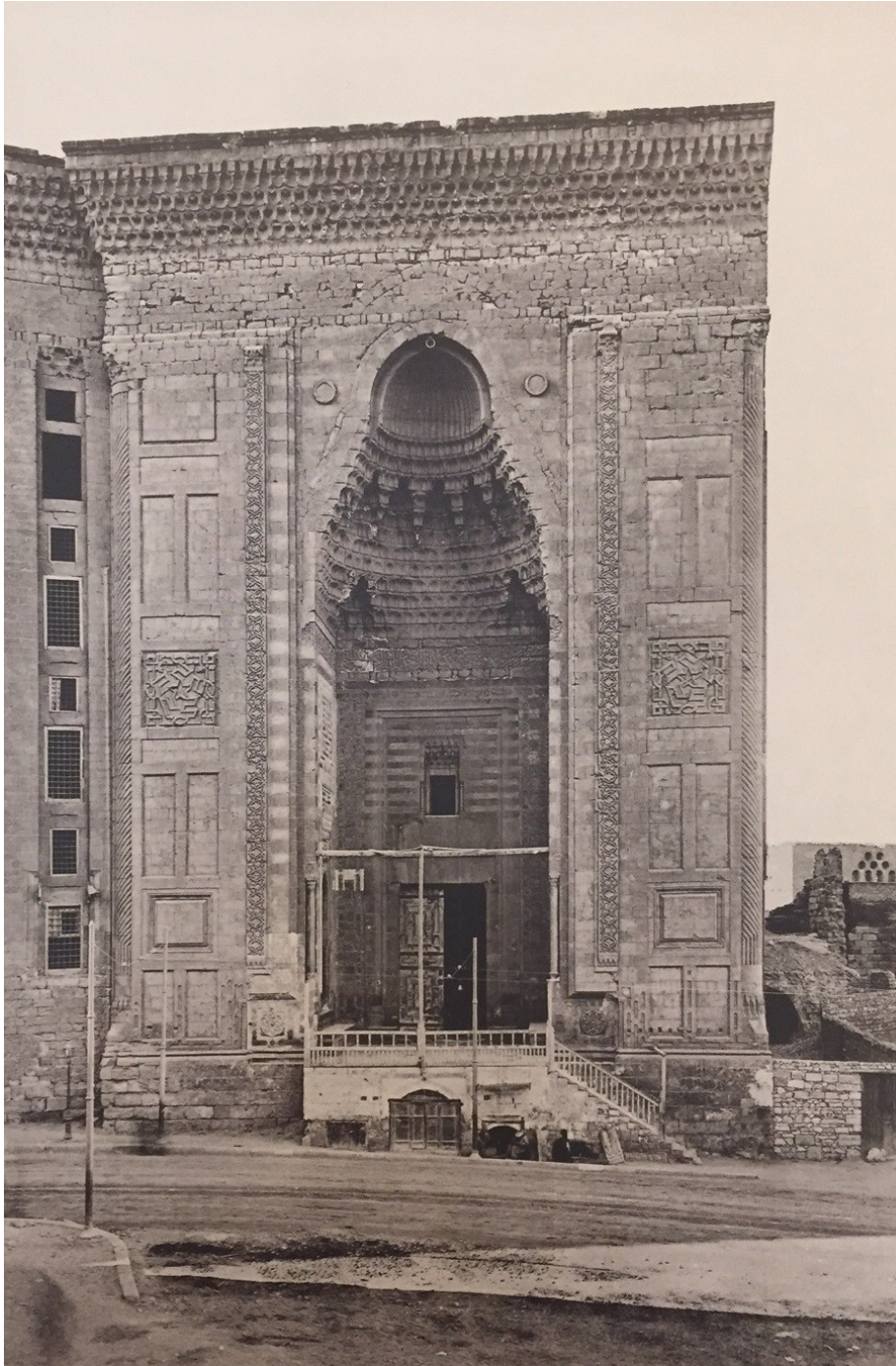


Figure 1: The unfinished carved decoration of the portal of the mosque of Sultan Hasan (photograph before 1899) (after *La mosquée du Sultan Hassan au Caire*).

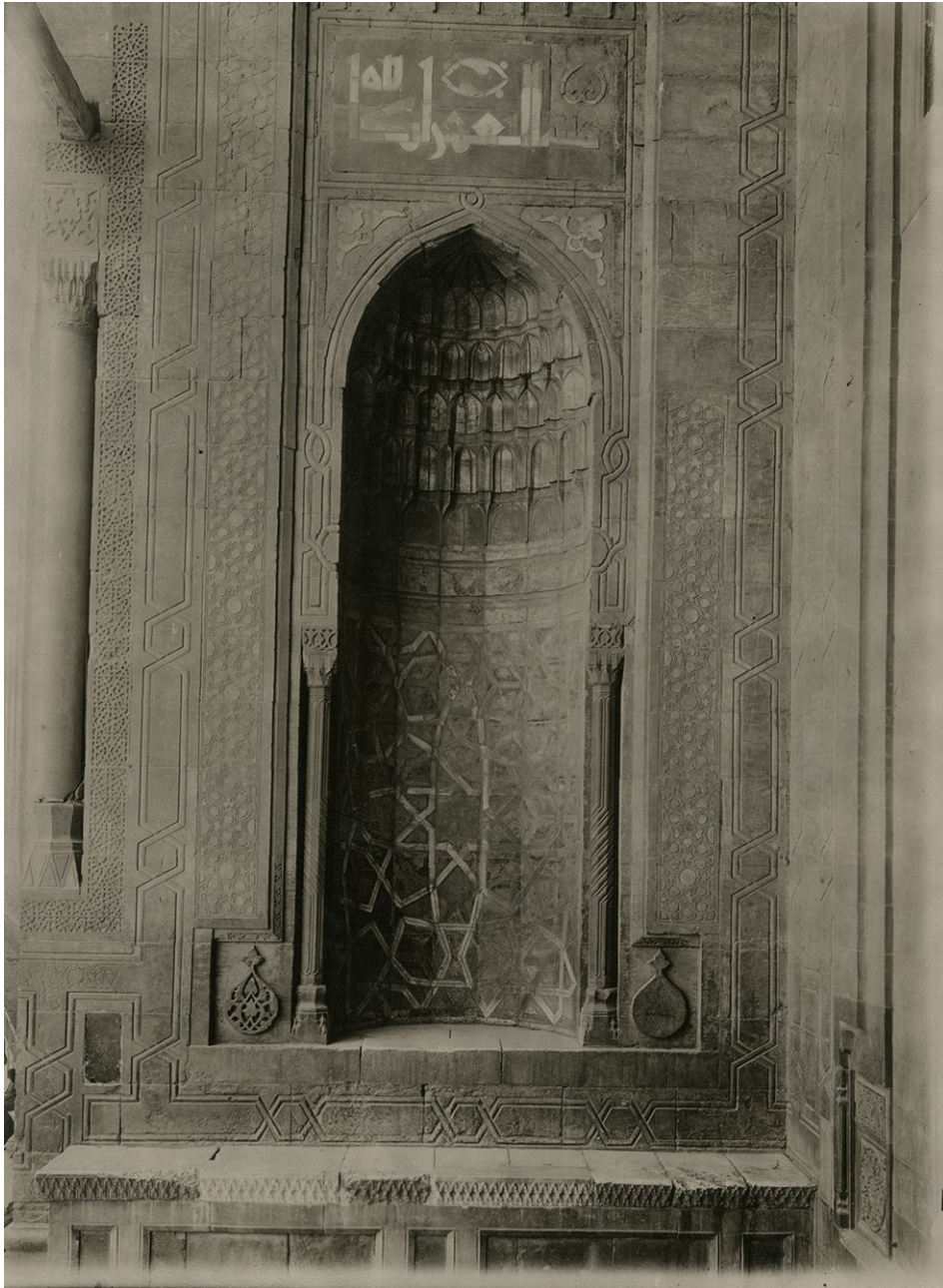


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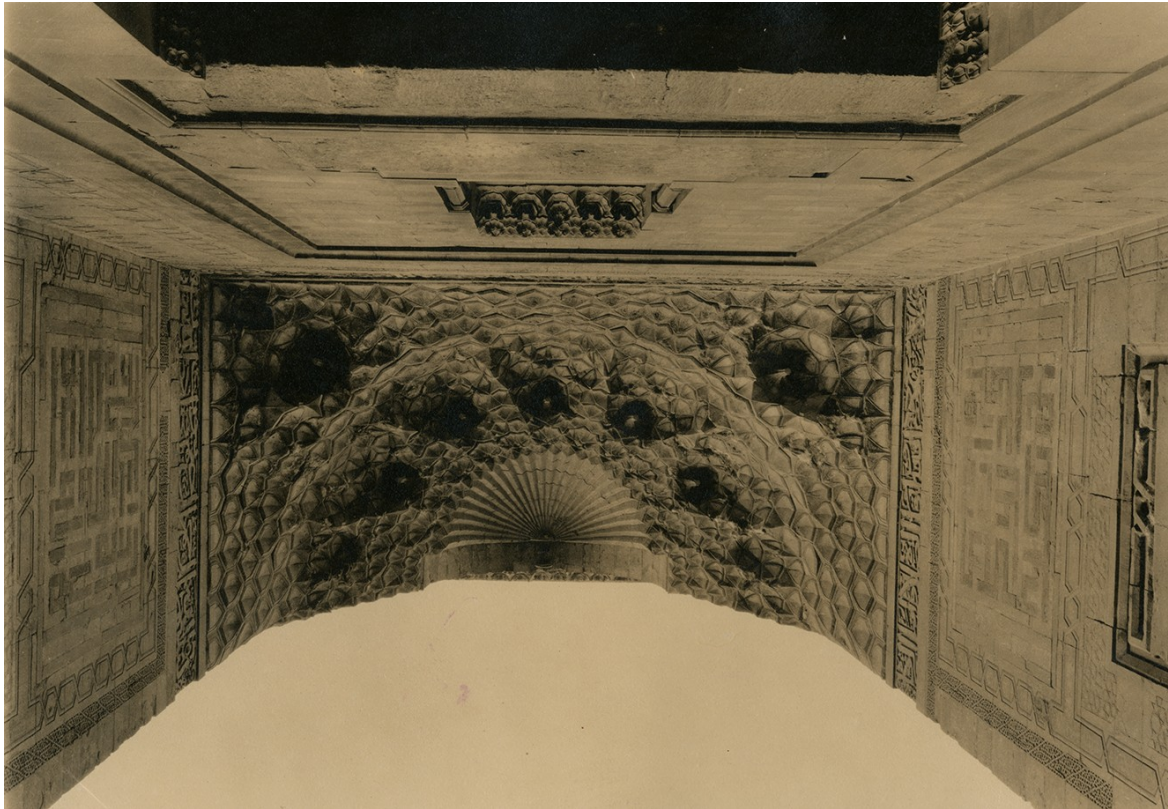


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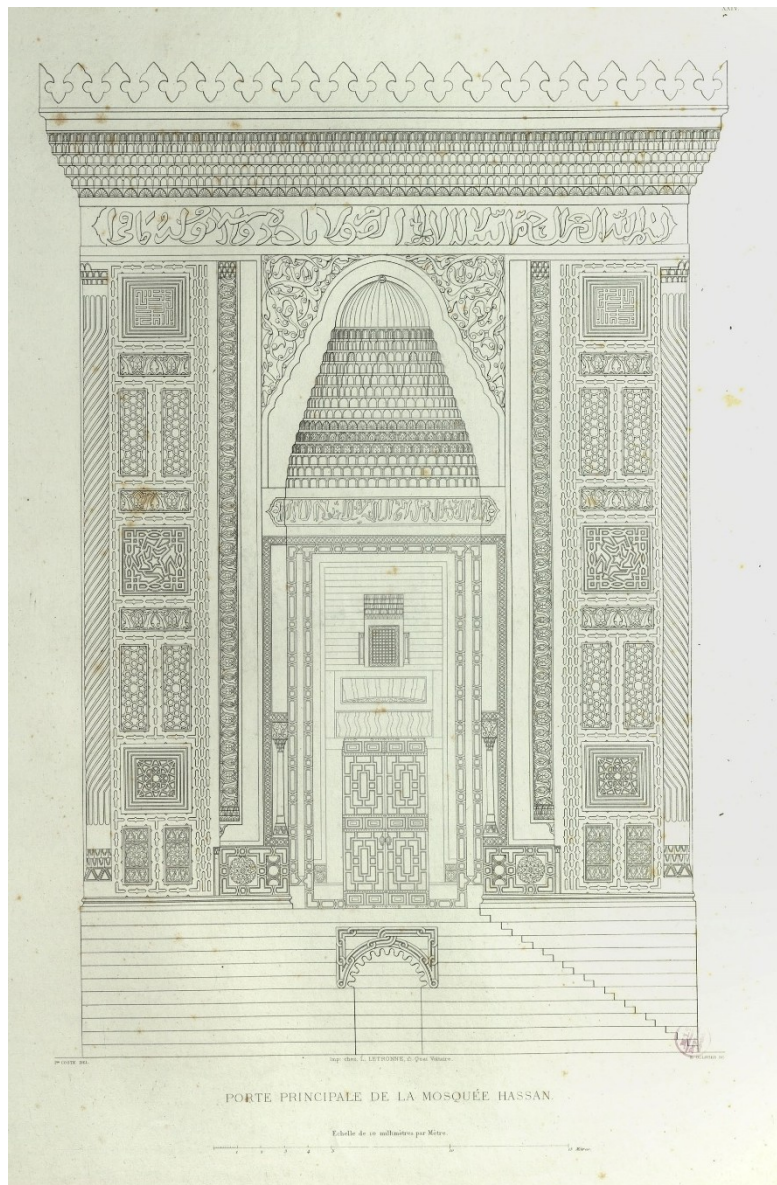


Figure 7: Porte principale de la mosquée Hassan (lithograph before 1839) (after *Architecture arabe, ou, monuments du Kaire*). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.

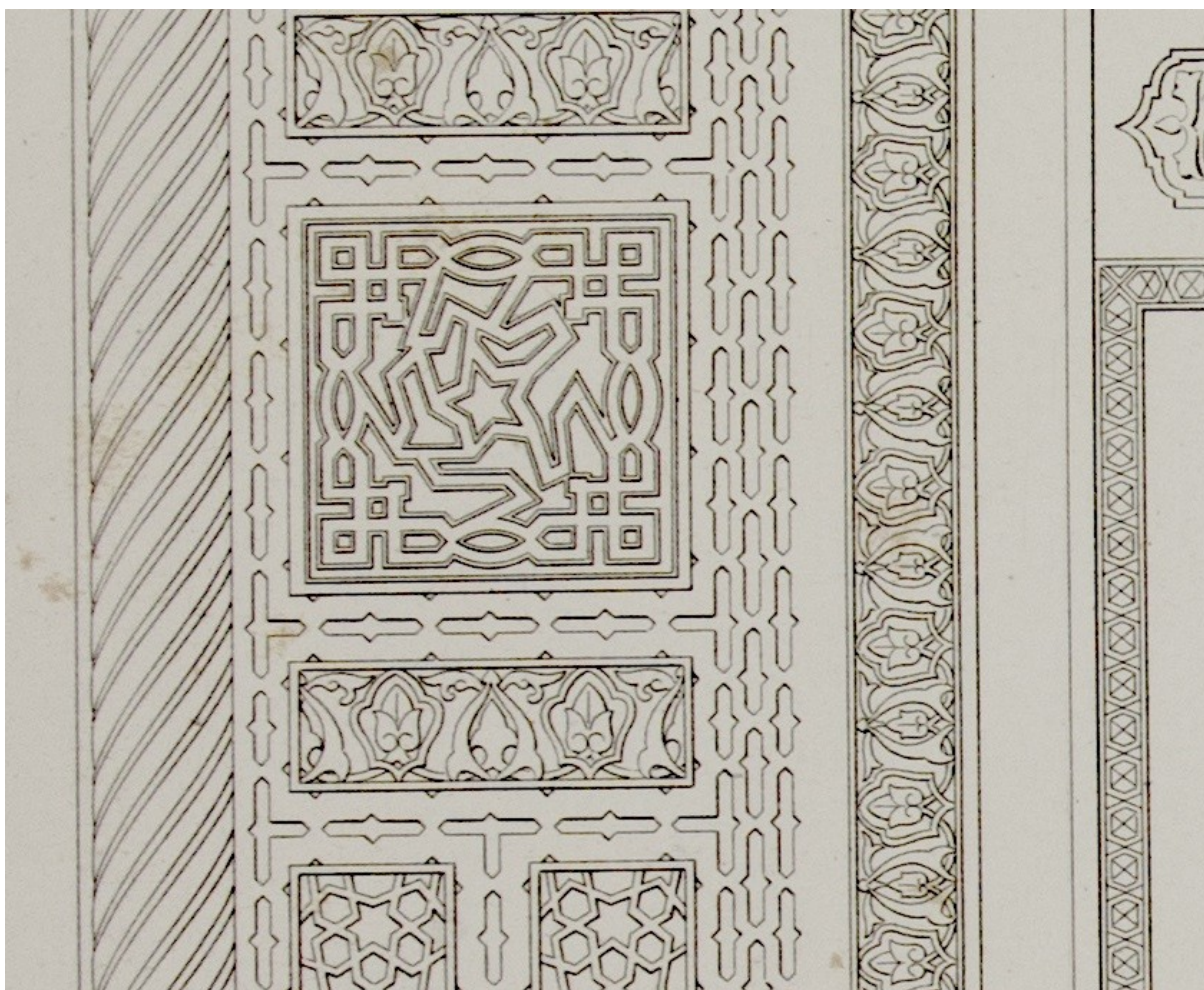


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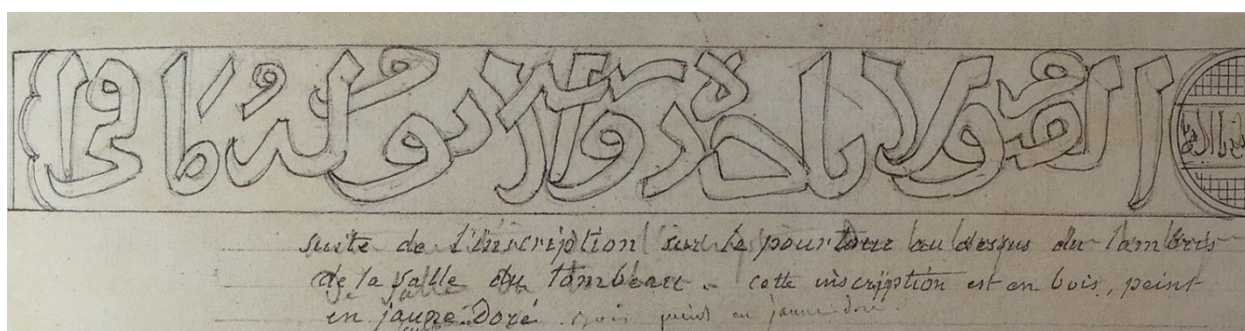


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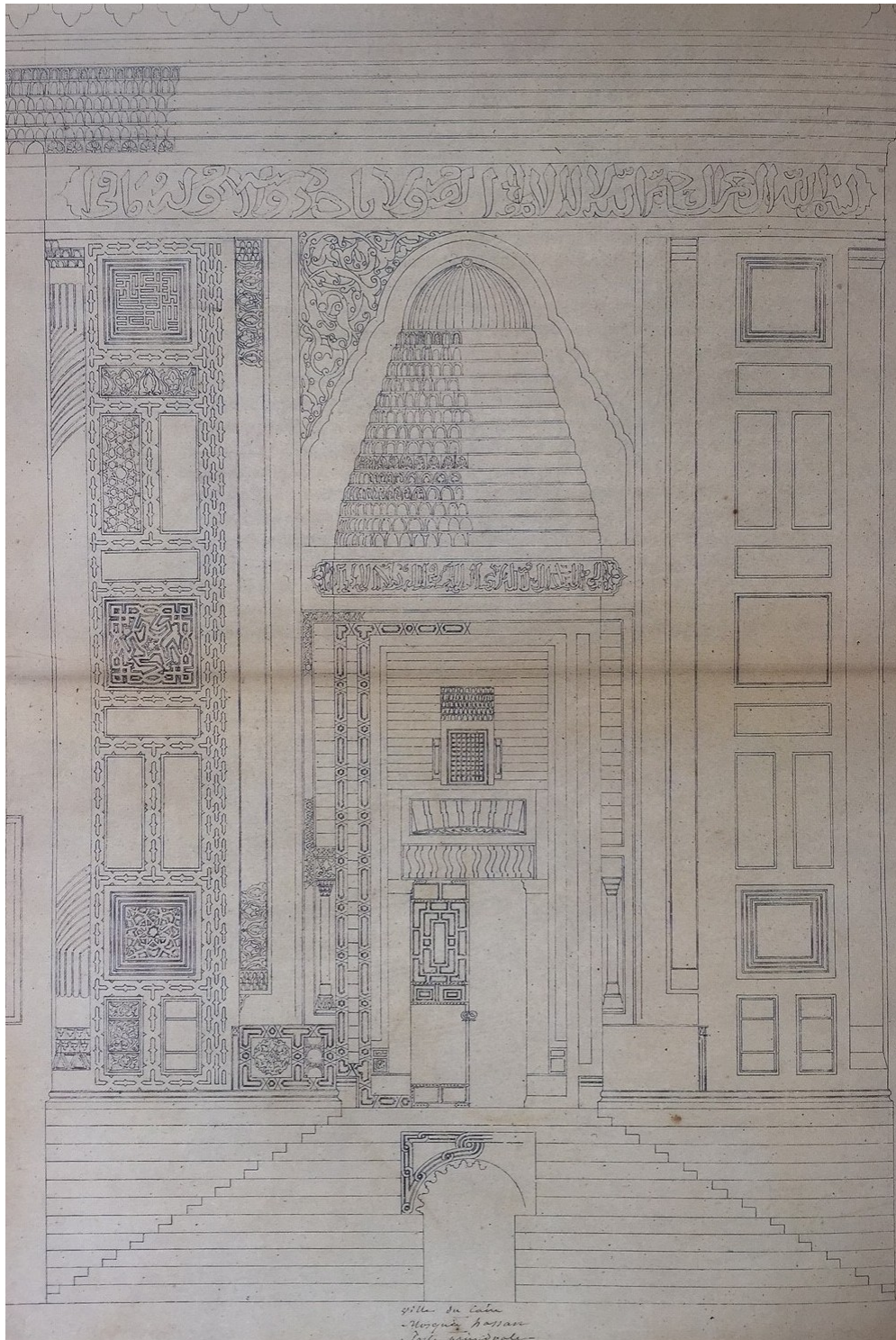


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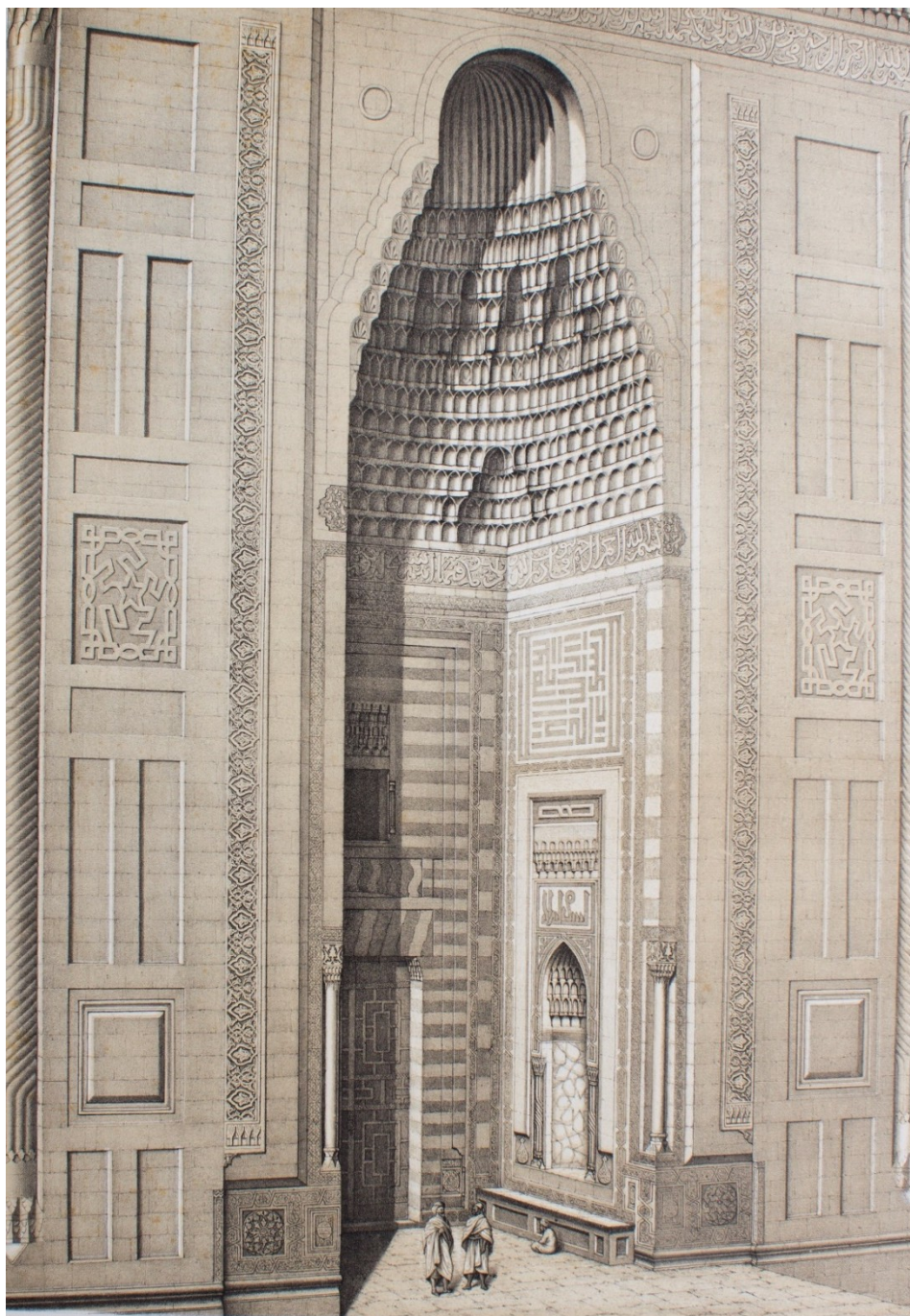


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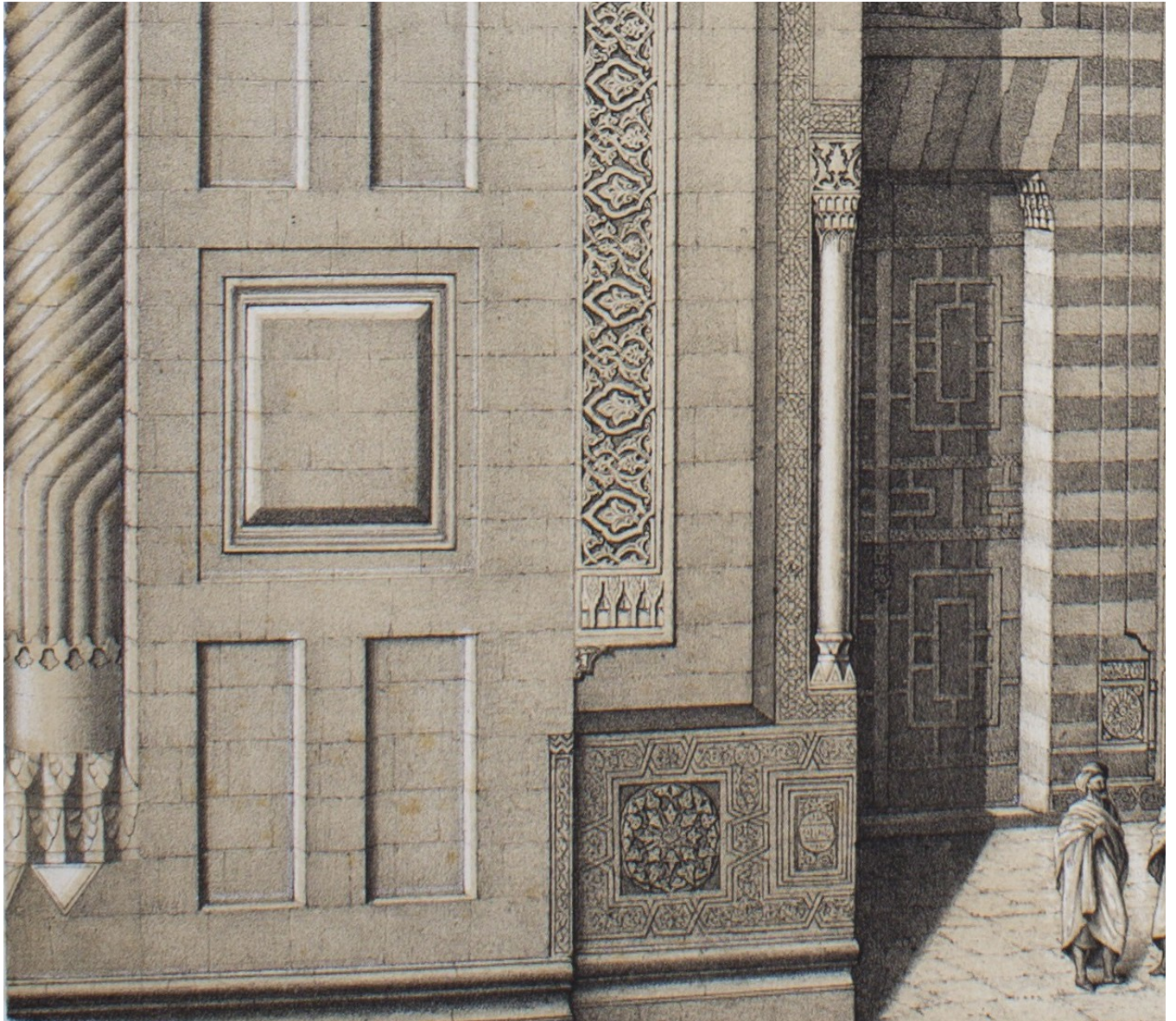


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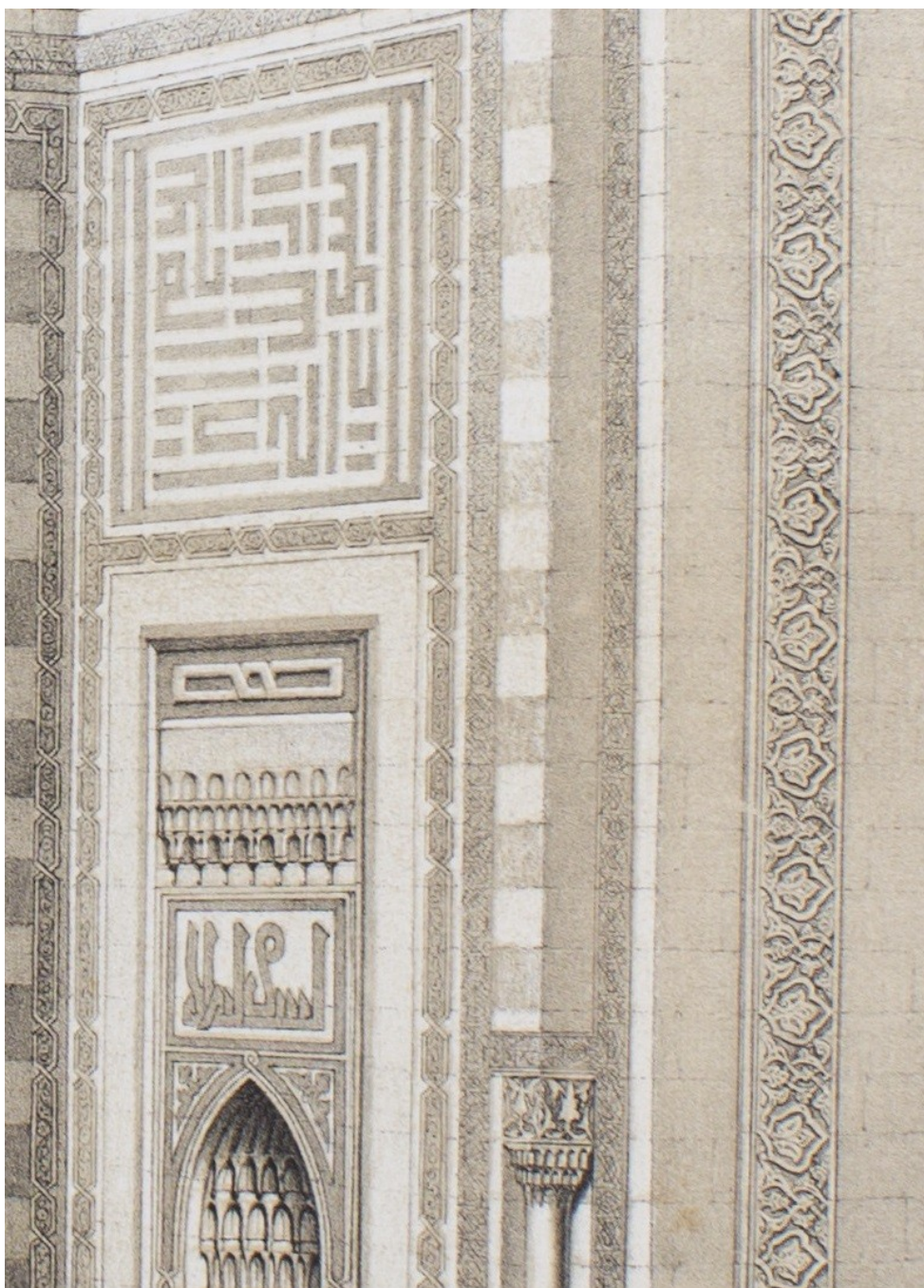


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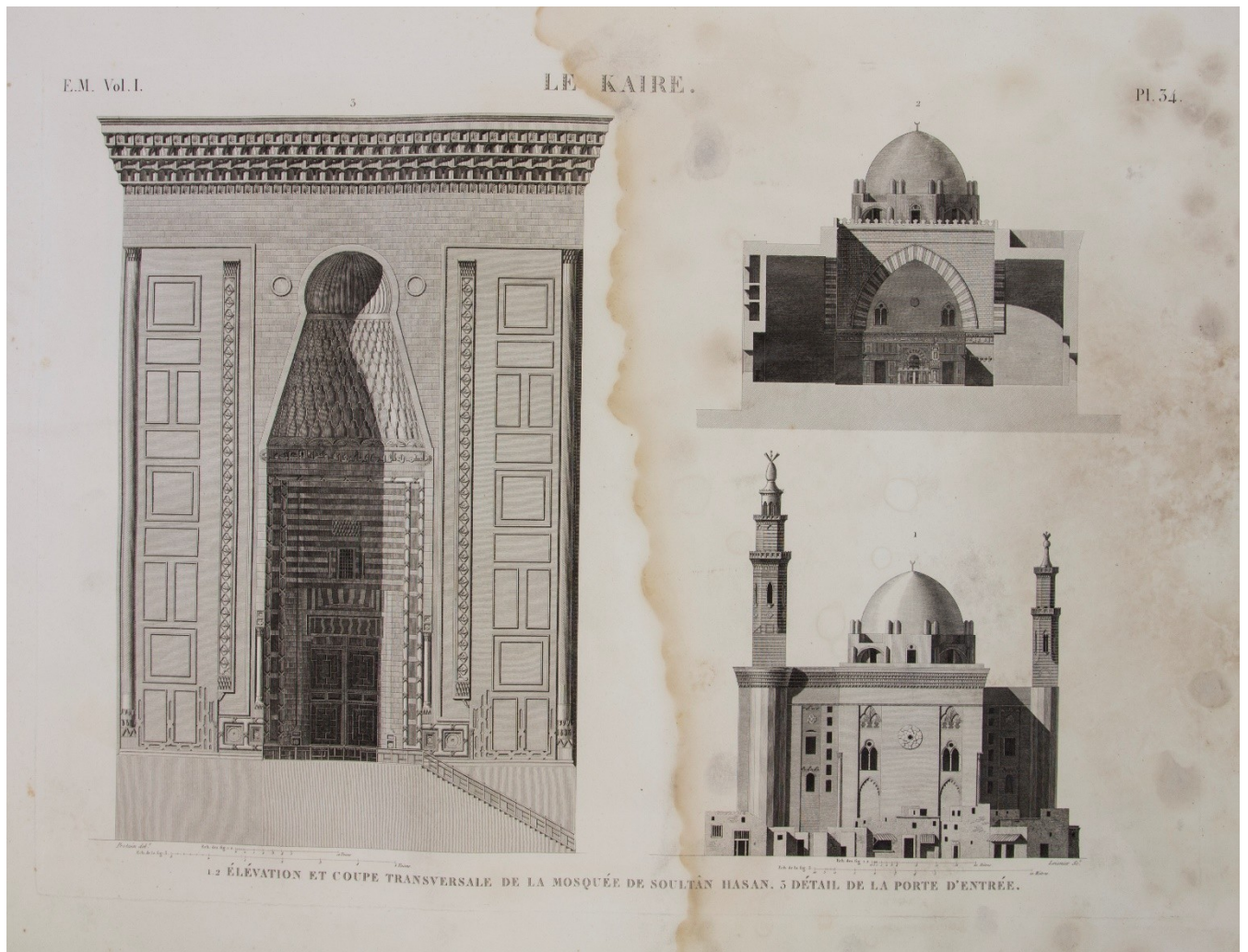


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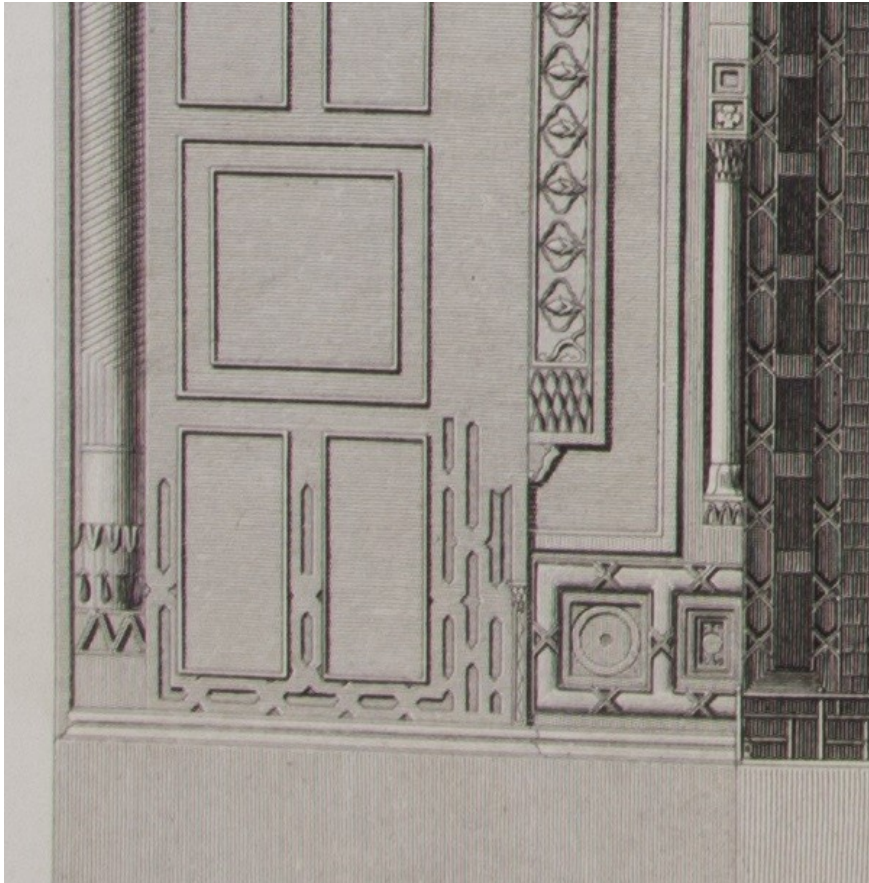


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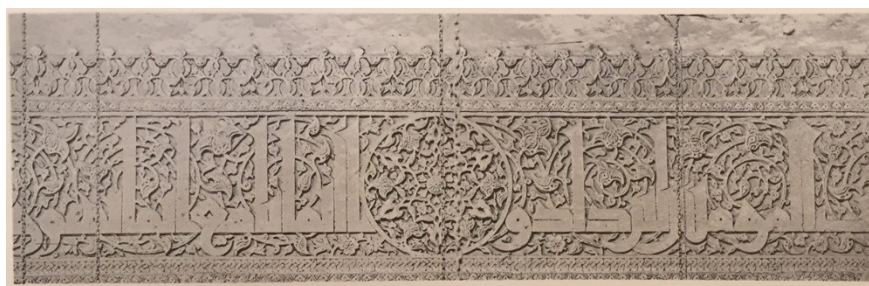
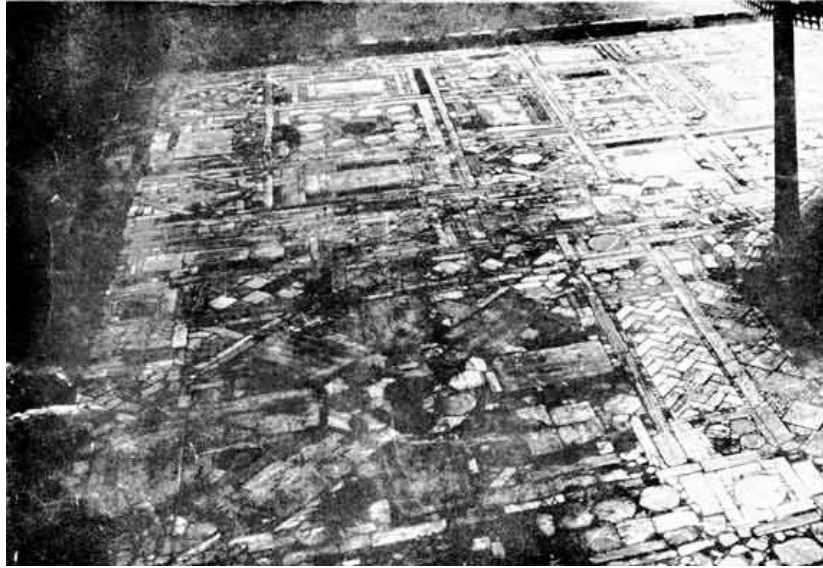


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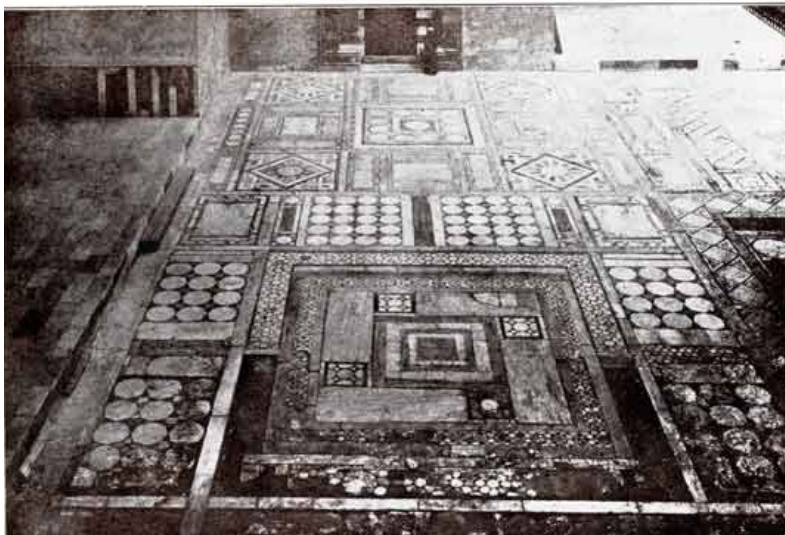


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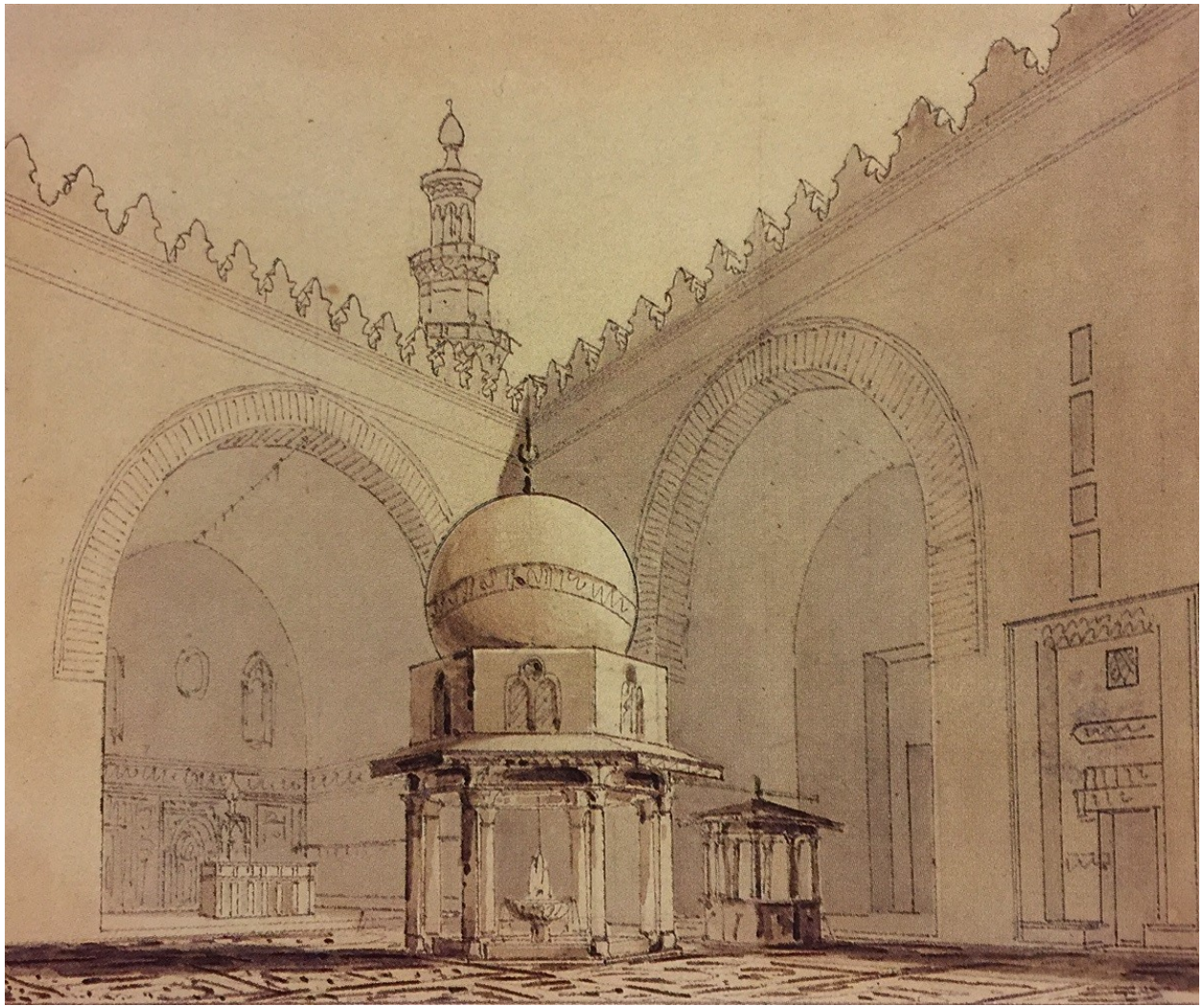


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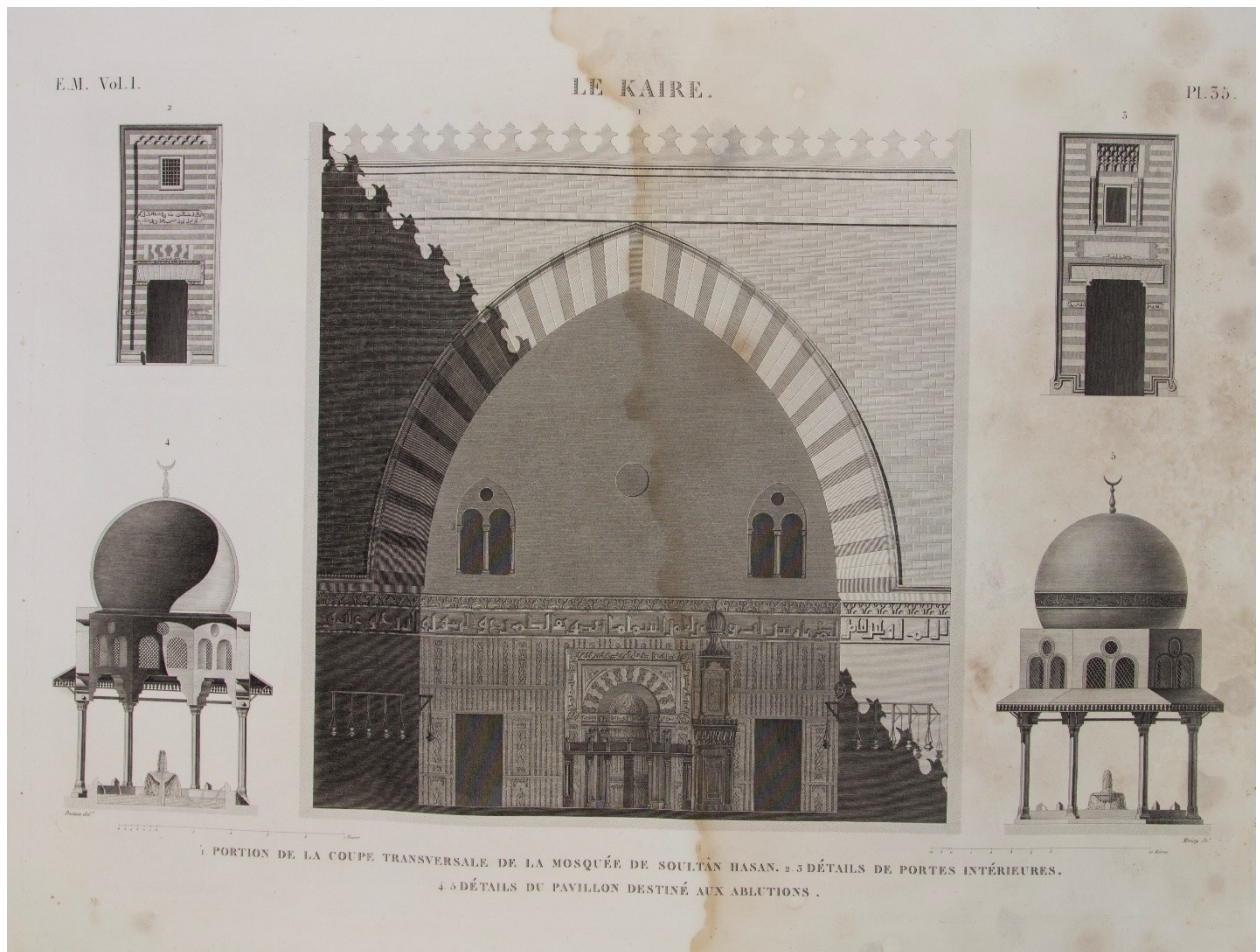


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VUE PERSPECTIVE INTÉRIEURE DE LA MOSQUÉE DE SOULTÂN HASAN.

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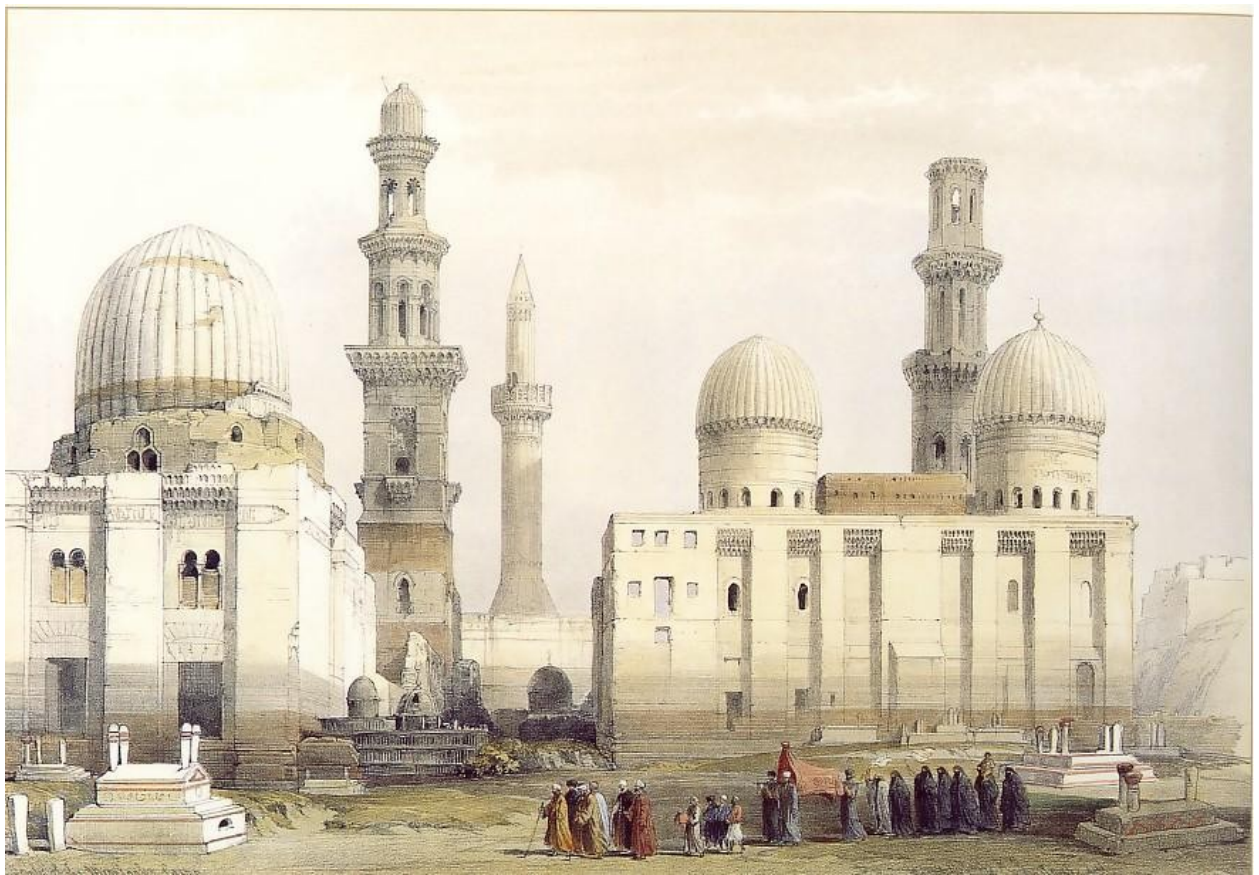


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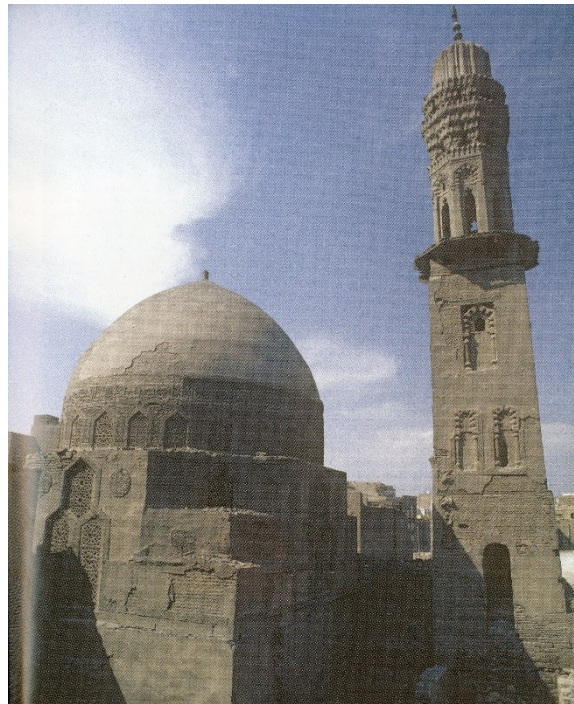


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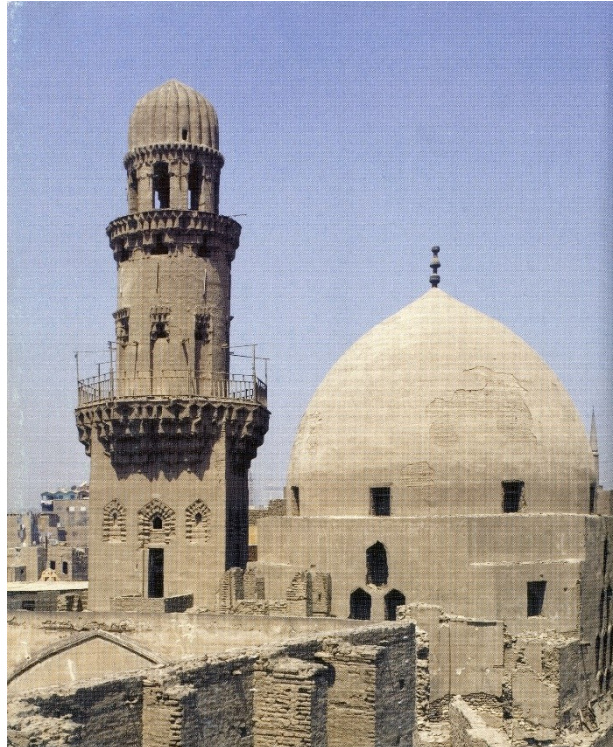


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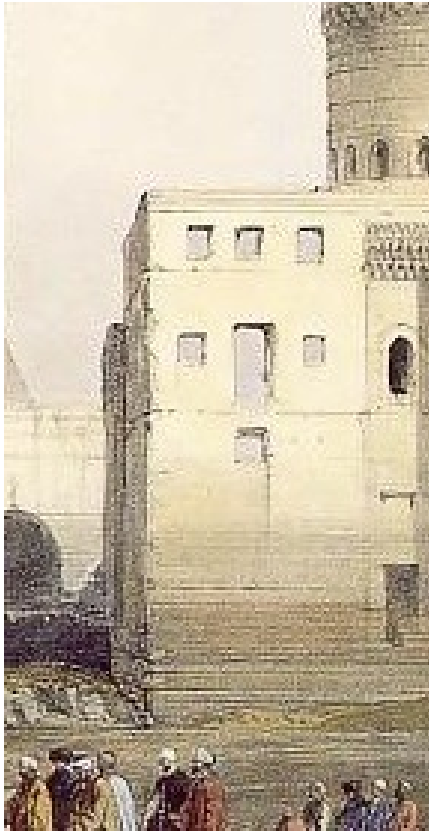


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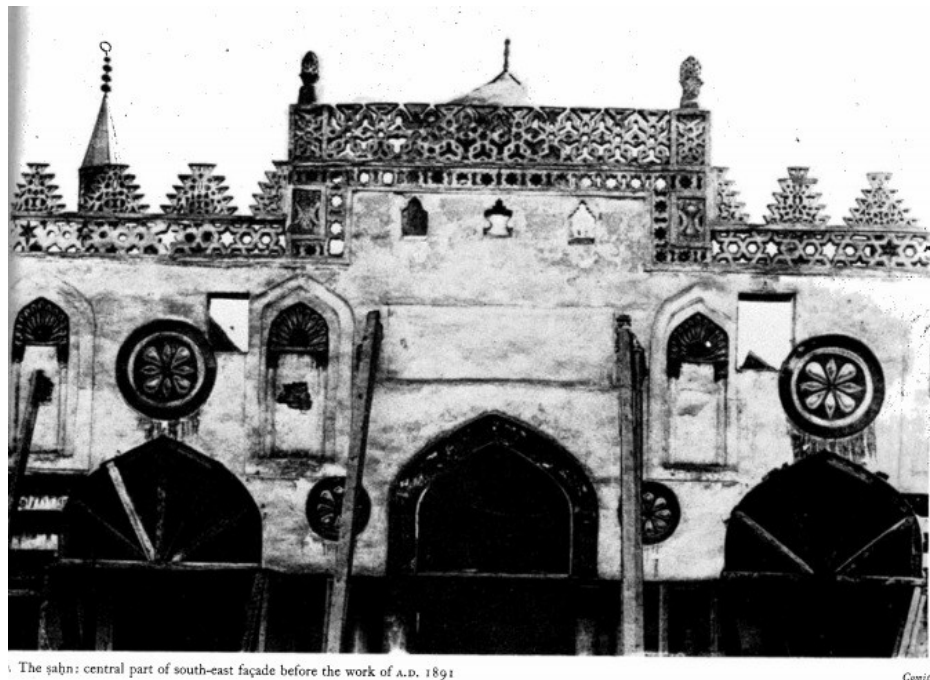


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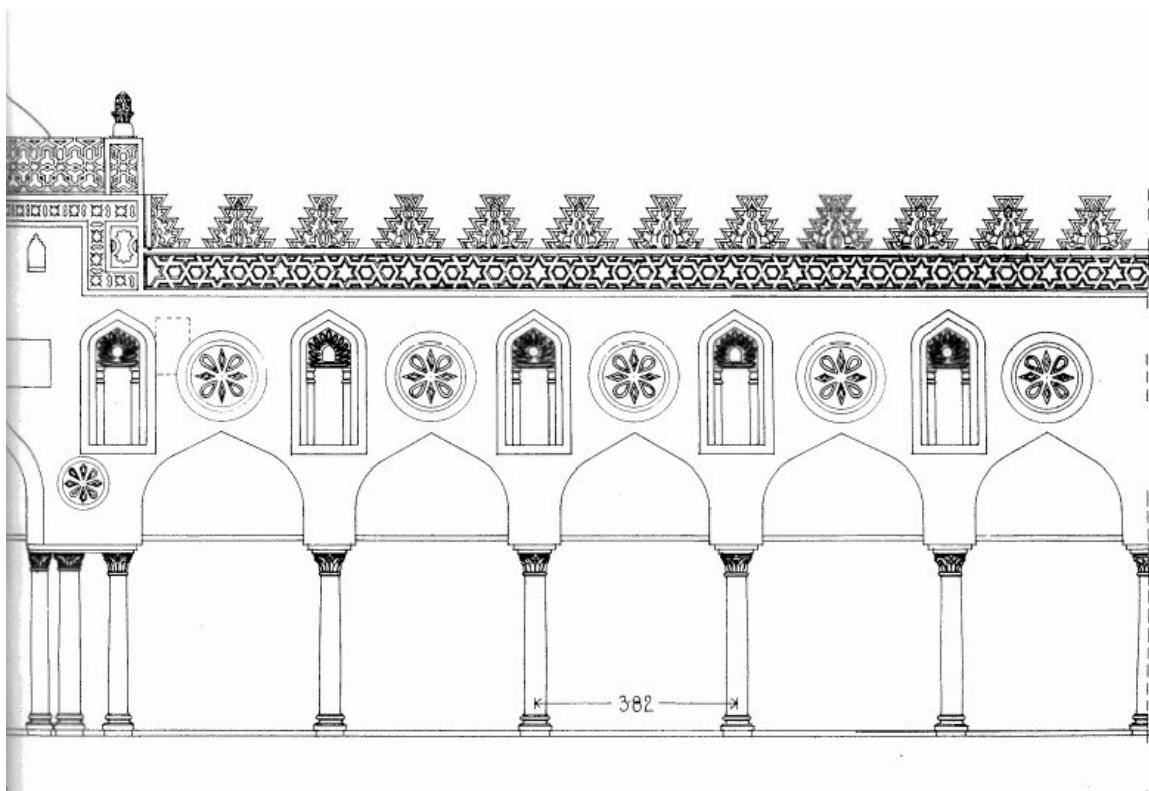


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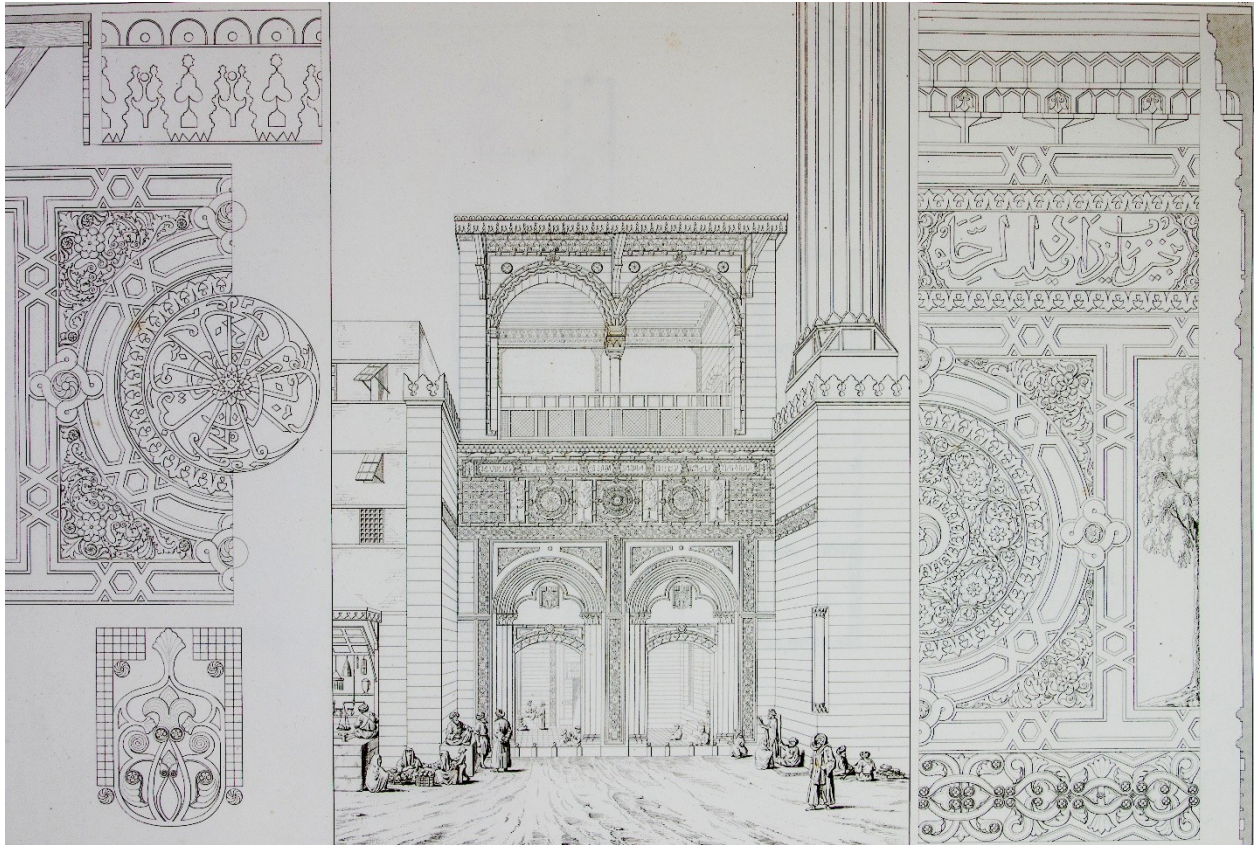


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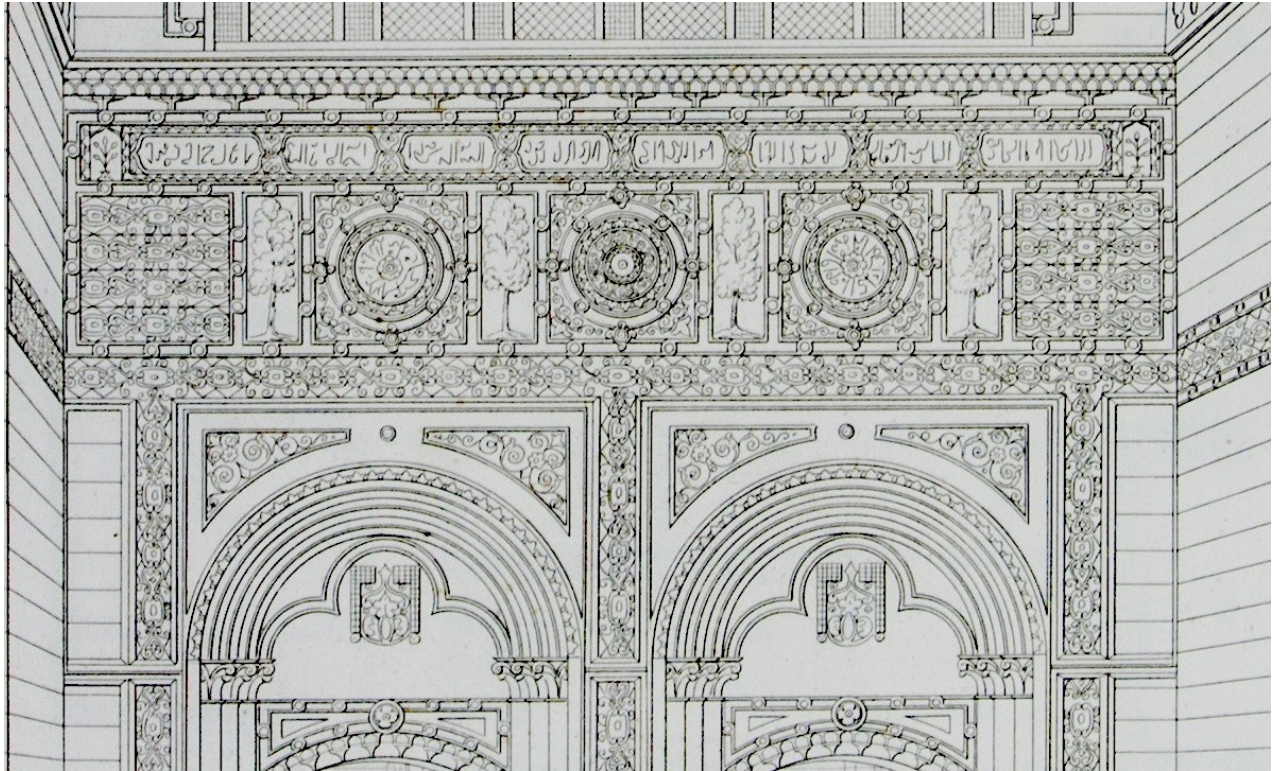


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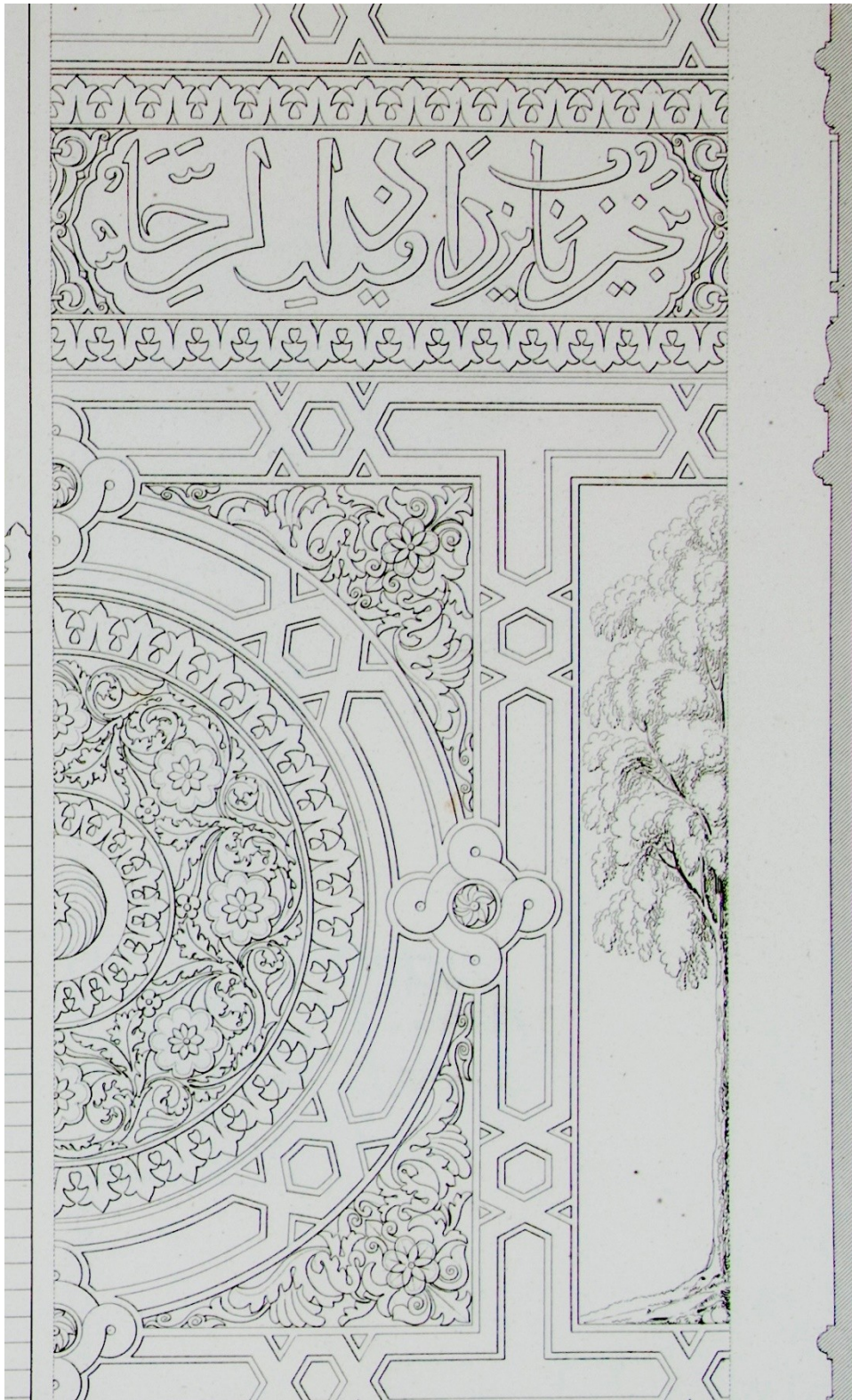


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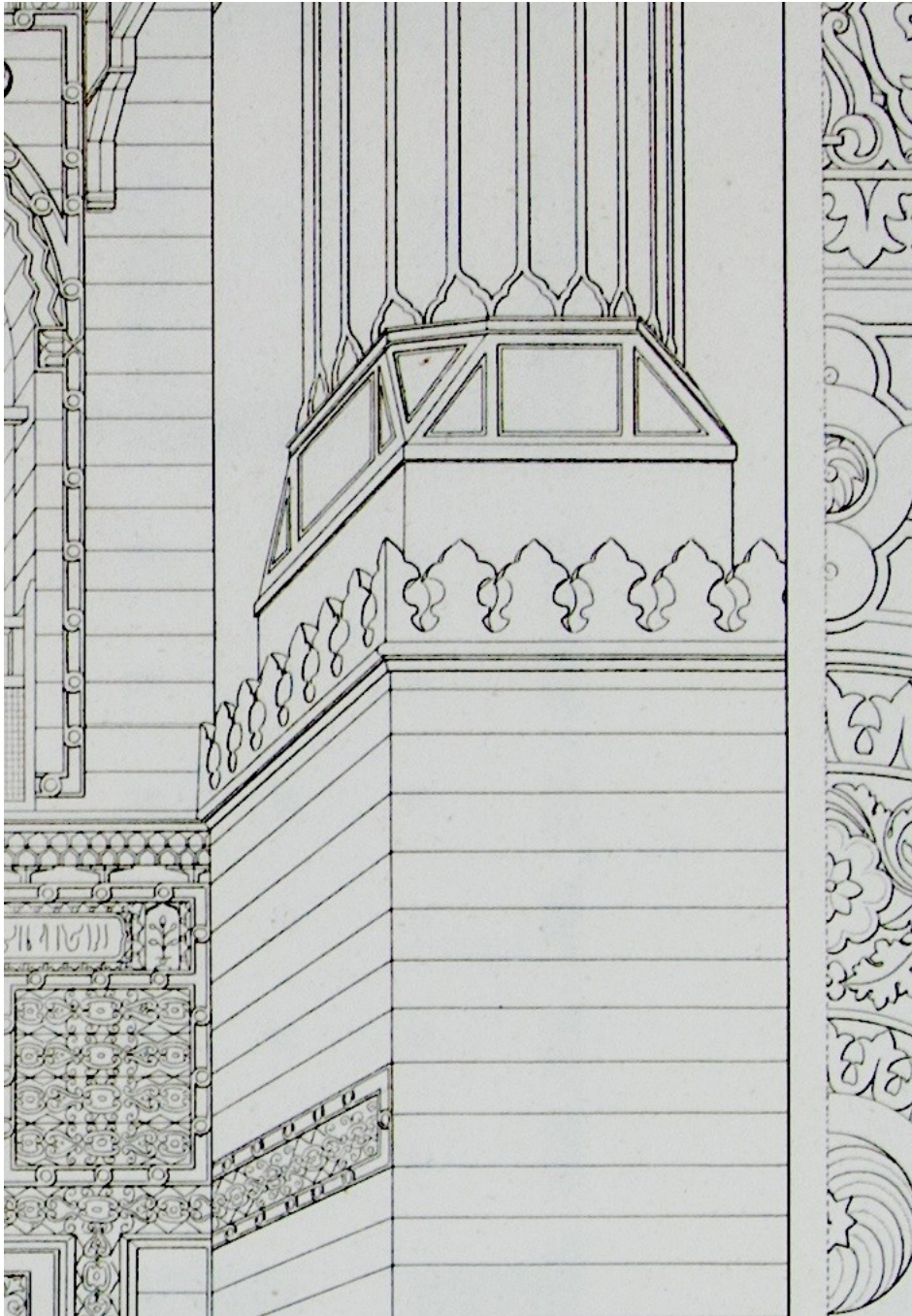
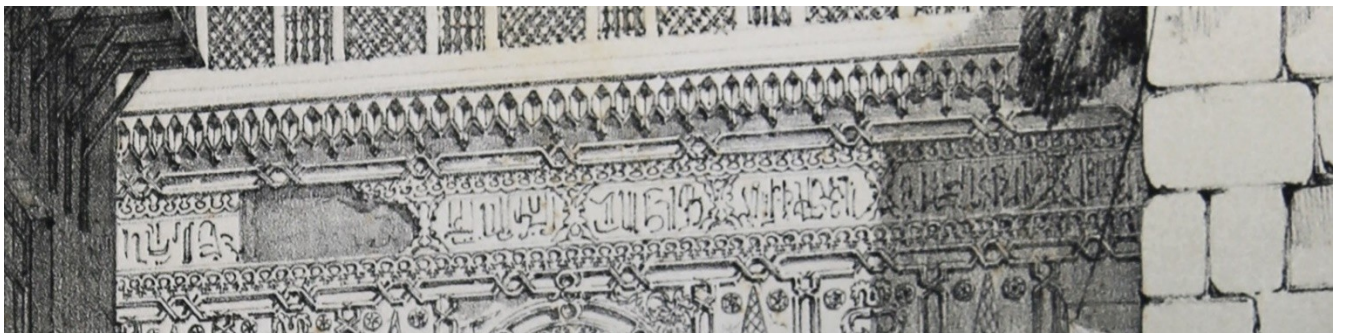


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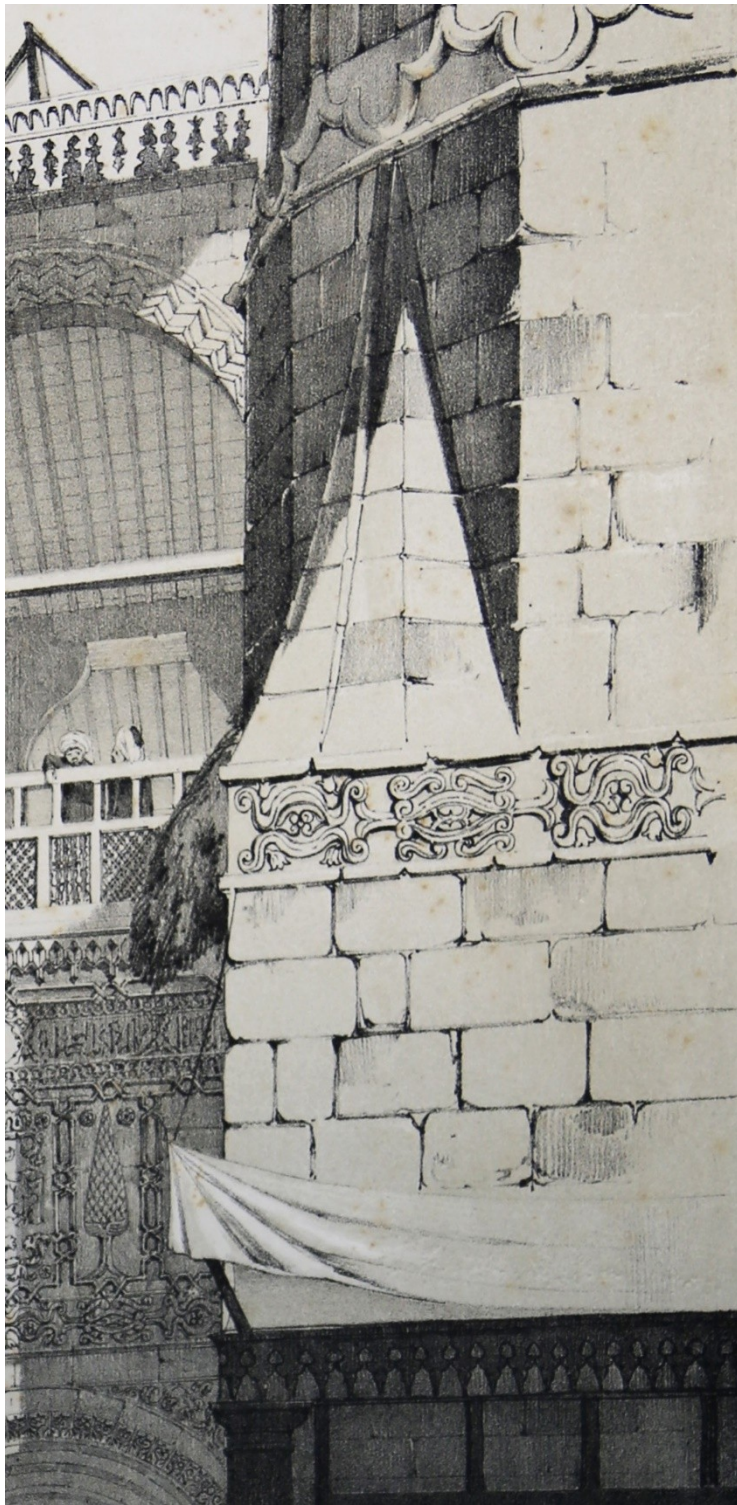


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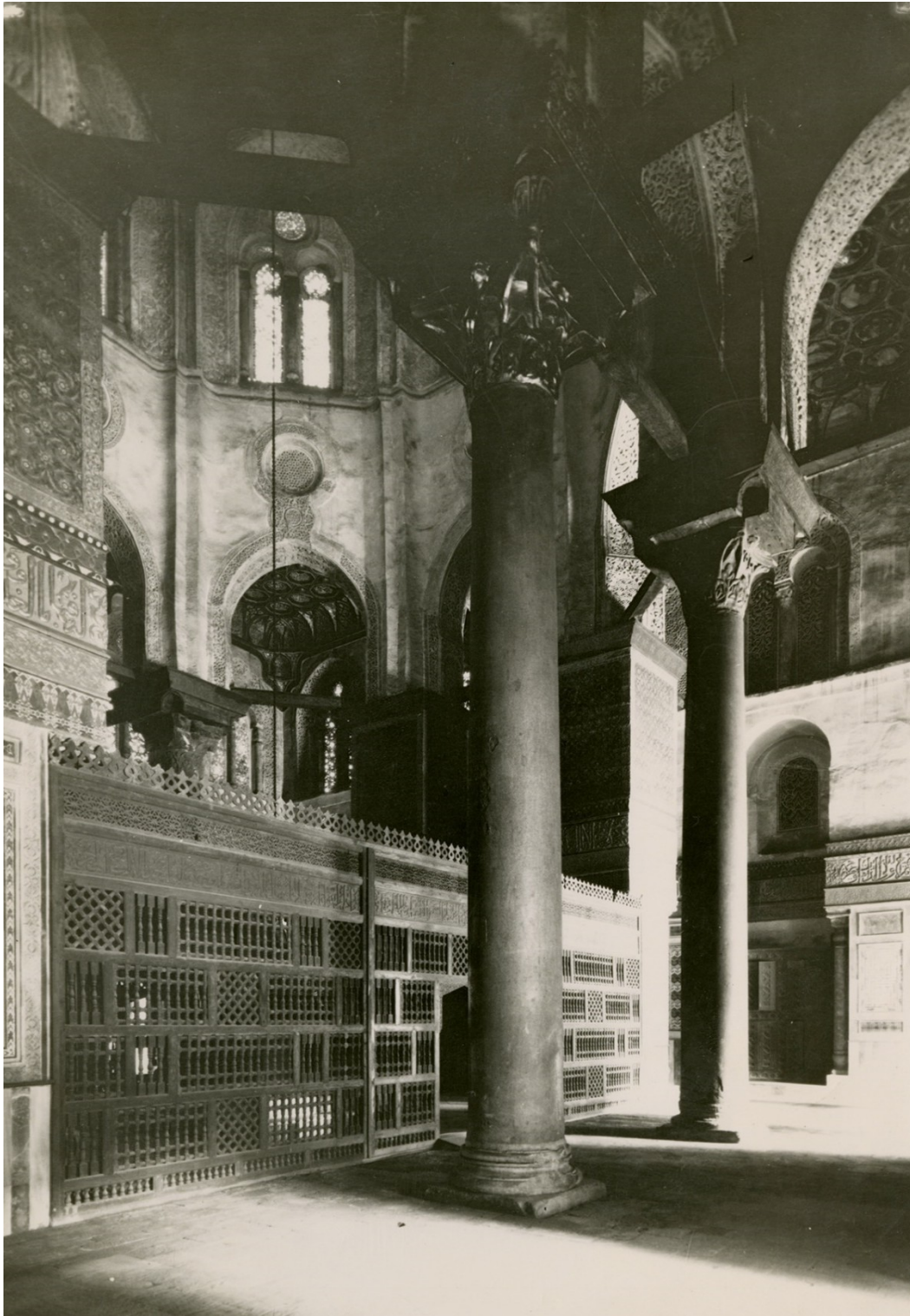


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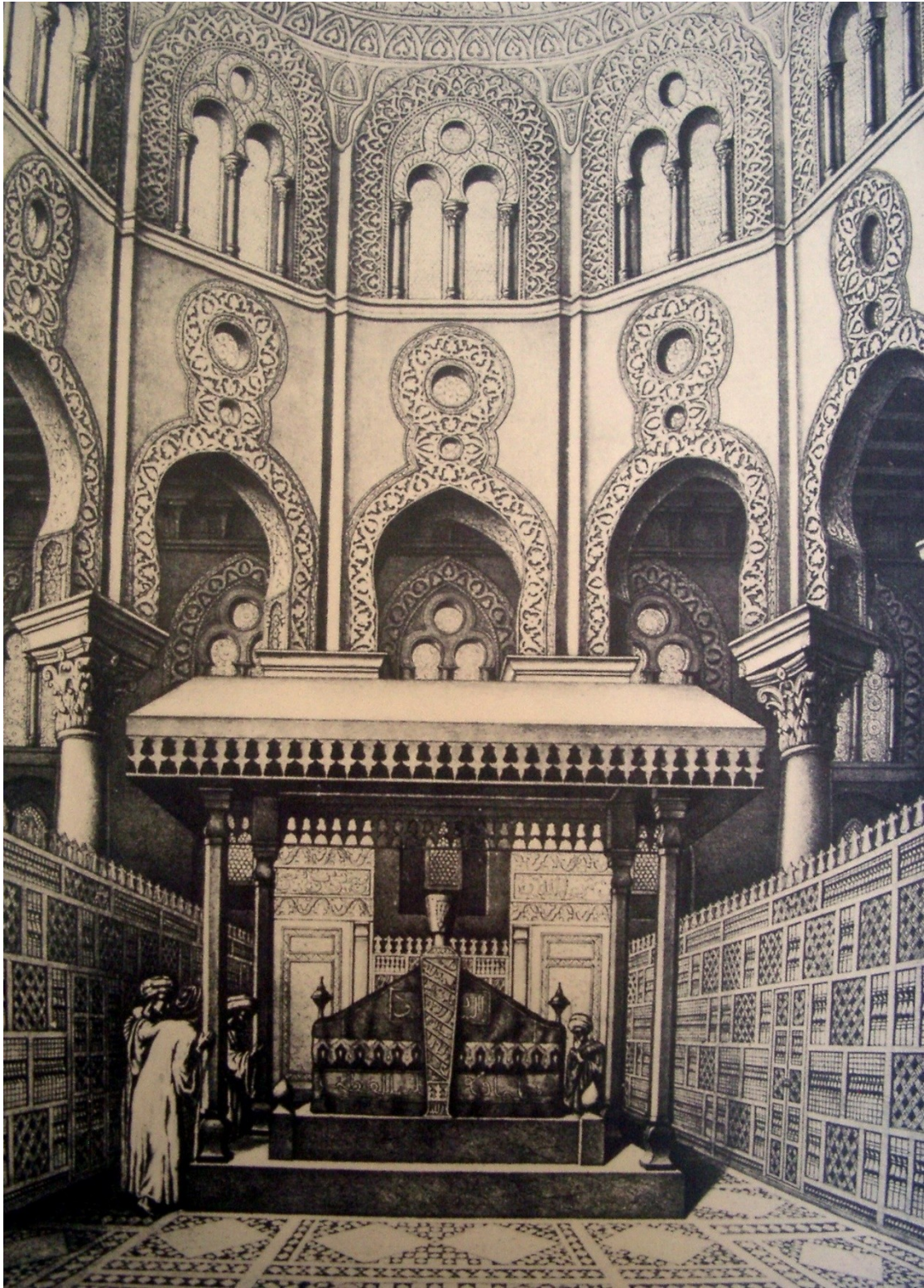


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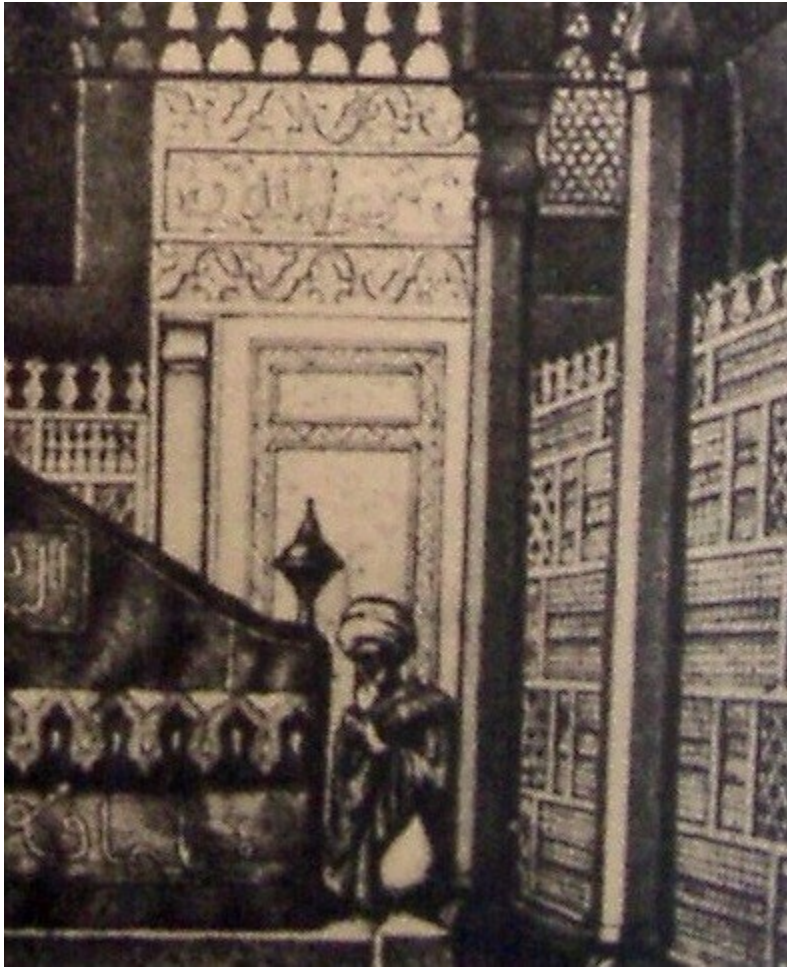


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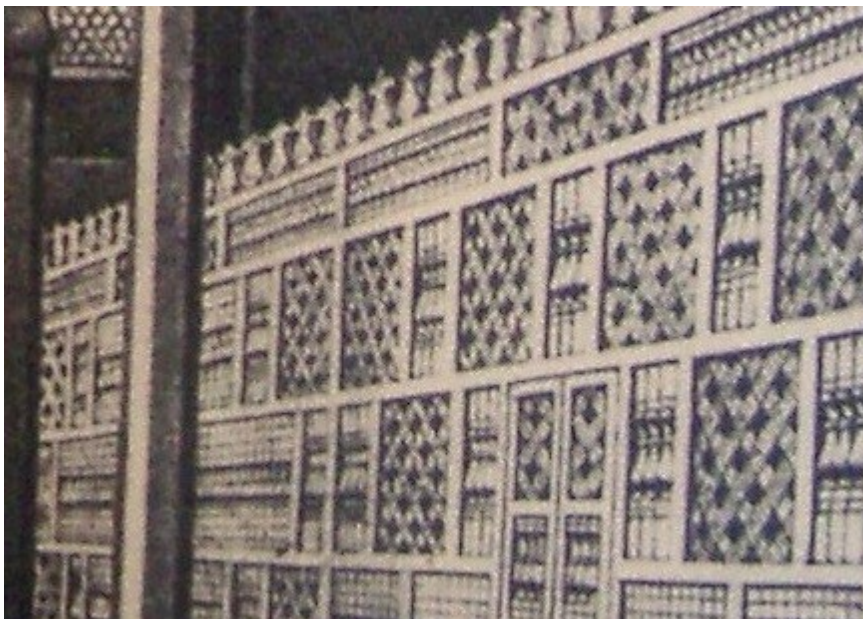


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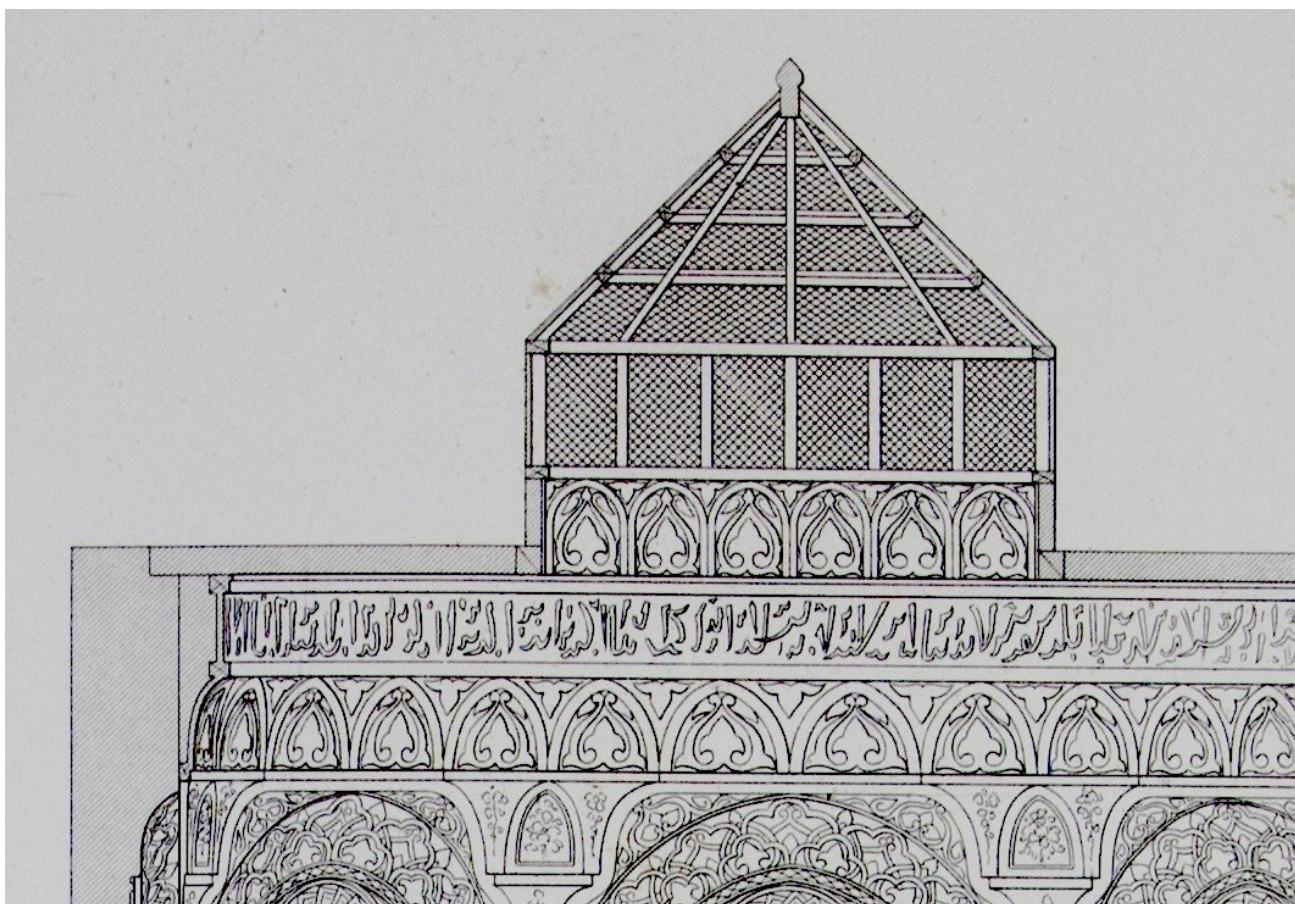


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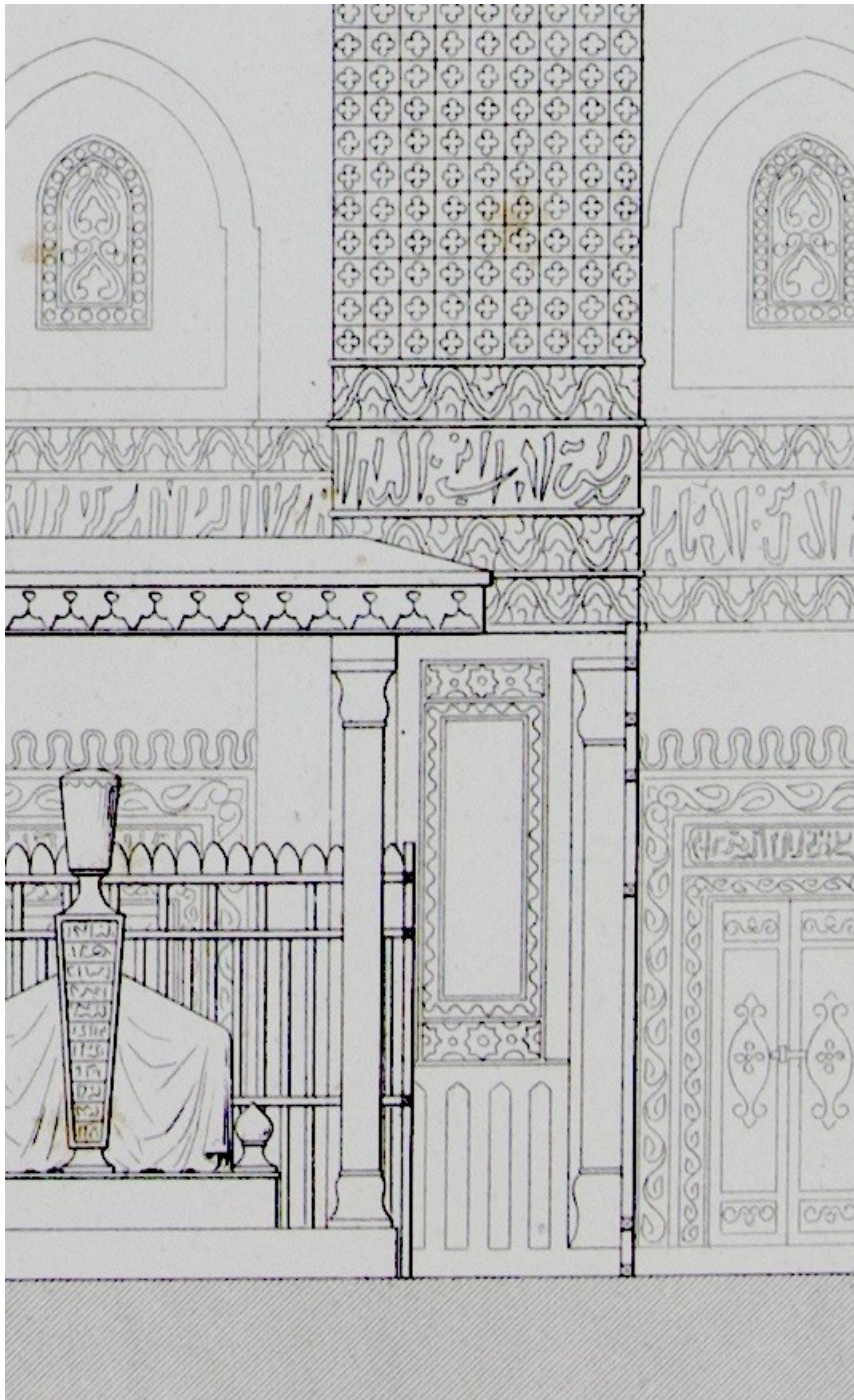


Figure 70: Detail showing the frieze behind the tomb of the sultan (lithograph before 1839) (after *Architecture arabe, ou, monuments du kaire*). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.

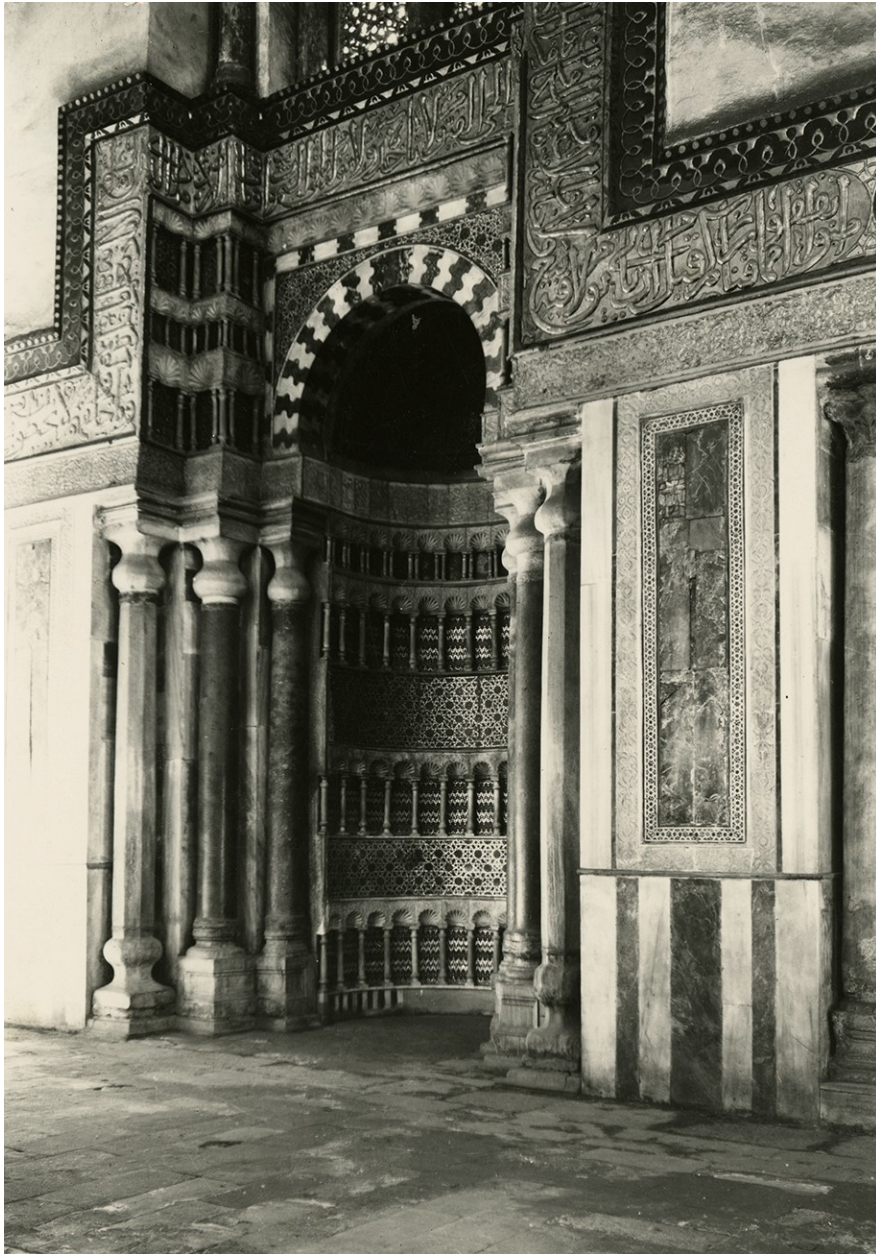


Figure 71: A photograph showing the details of the mihrab (photo from the personal collection of Creswell before the 20th century). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.

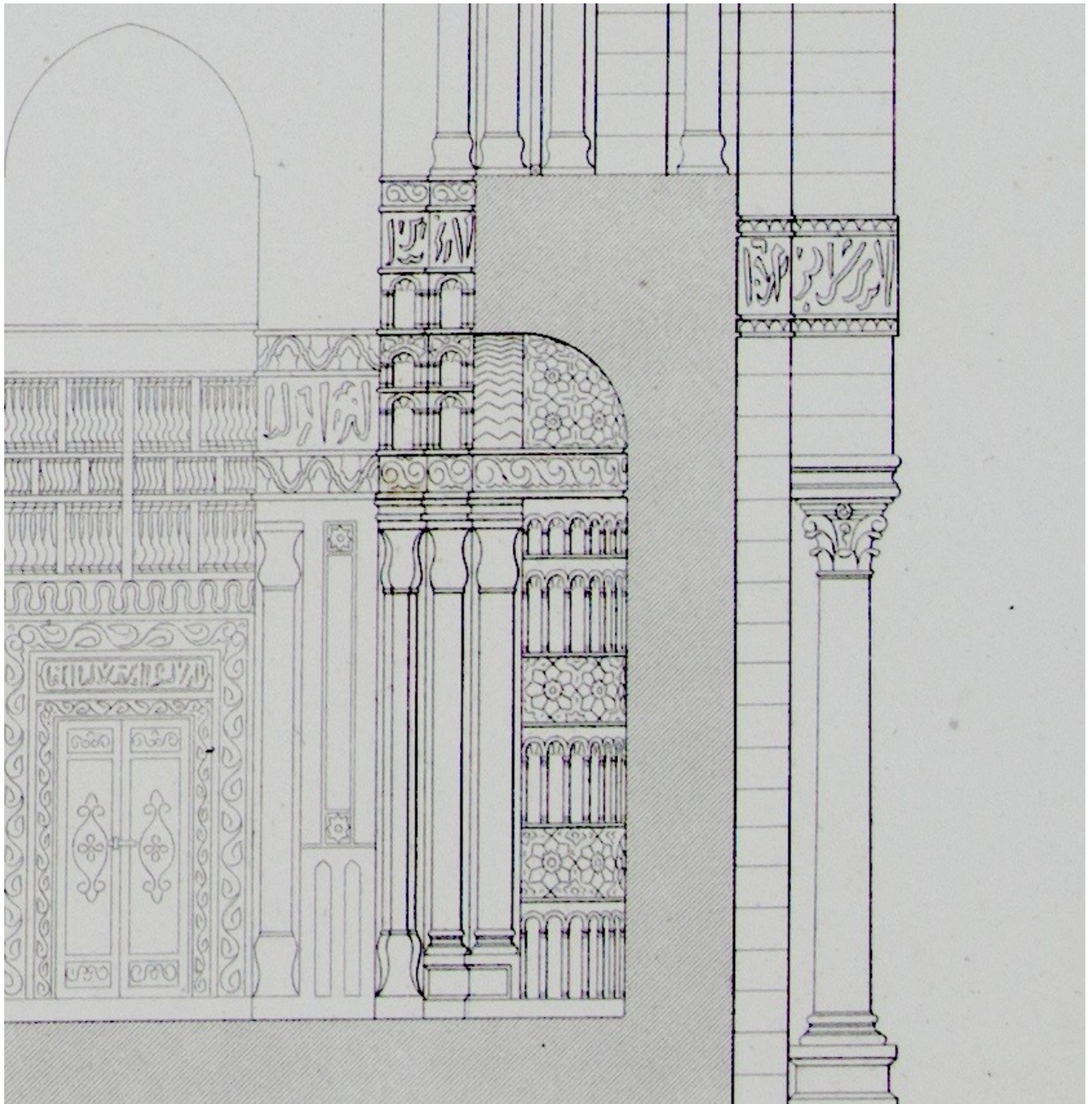


Figure 72: Detail showing the decoration of the mihrab (lithograph before 1839) (after *Architecture arabe, ou, monuments du kaire*). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.

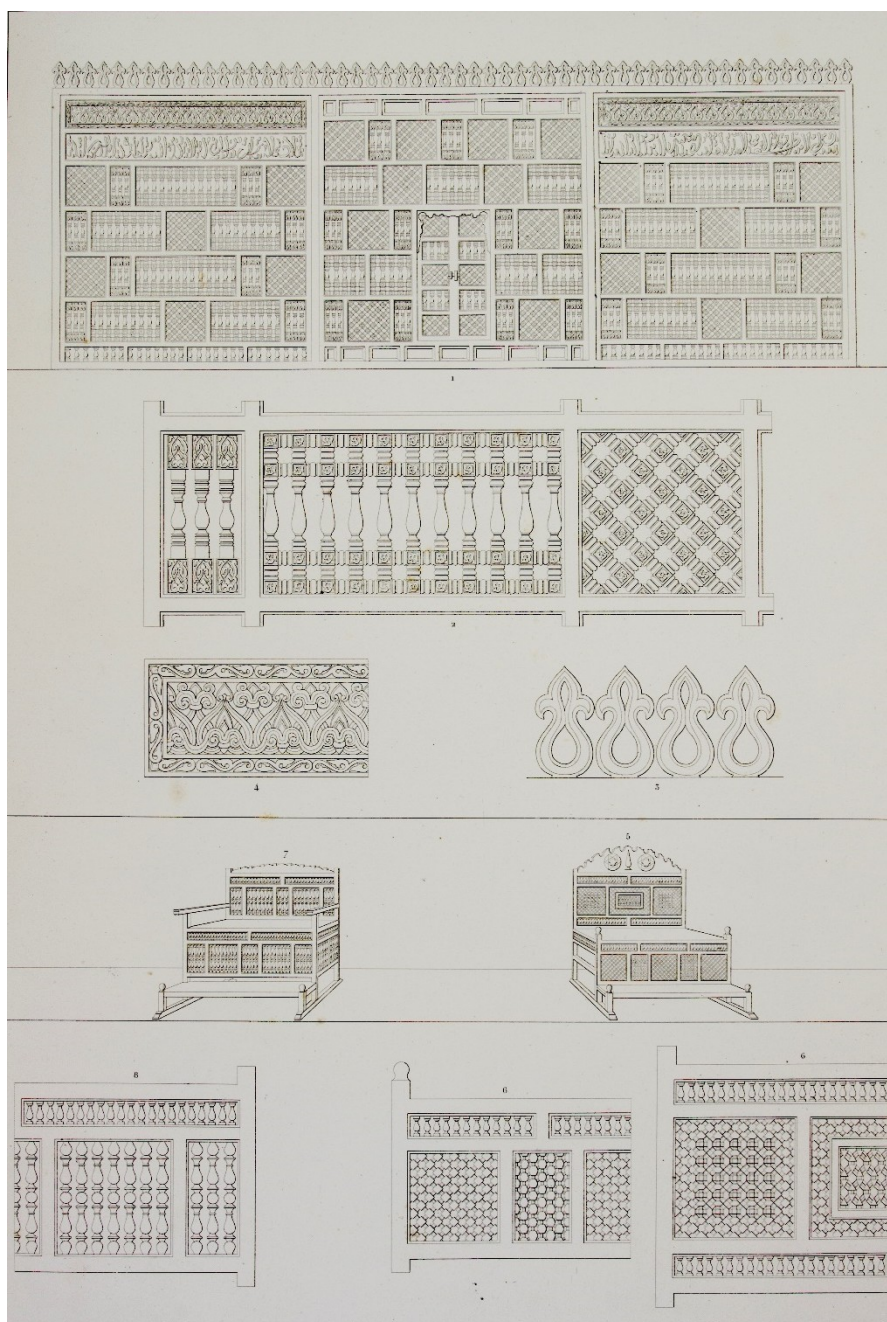


Figure 73: Détails de menuiserie des grilles et des fauteuils de la sale du tombeau de Qalaoun (lithograph before 1839) (after *Architecture arabe, ou, monuments du Kaire*). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



Figure 74: A photograph showing the qibla iwan of the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (photo from the personal collection of Creswell before the 20th century). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



Figure 75: A photo showing the mihrab area and part of the wooden ceiling (photo from the personal collection of Creswell before the 20th century). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



Figure 76: Vue de la niche du sanctuaire et de la chaire de la mosquée el-Moyed (lithograph before 1839) (after *Architecture arabe, ou, monuments du Kaire*). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.

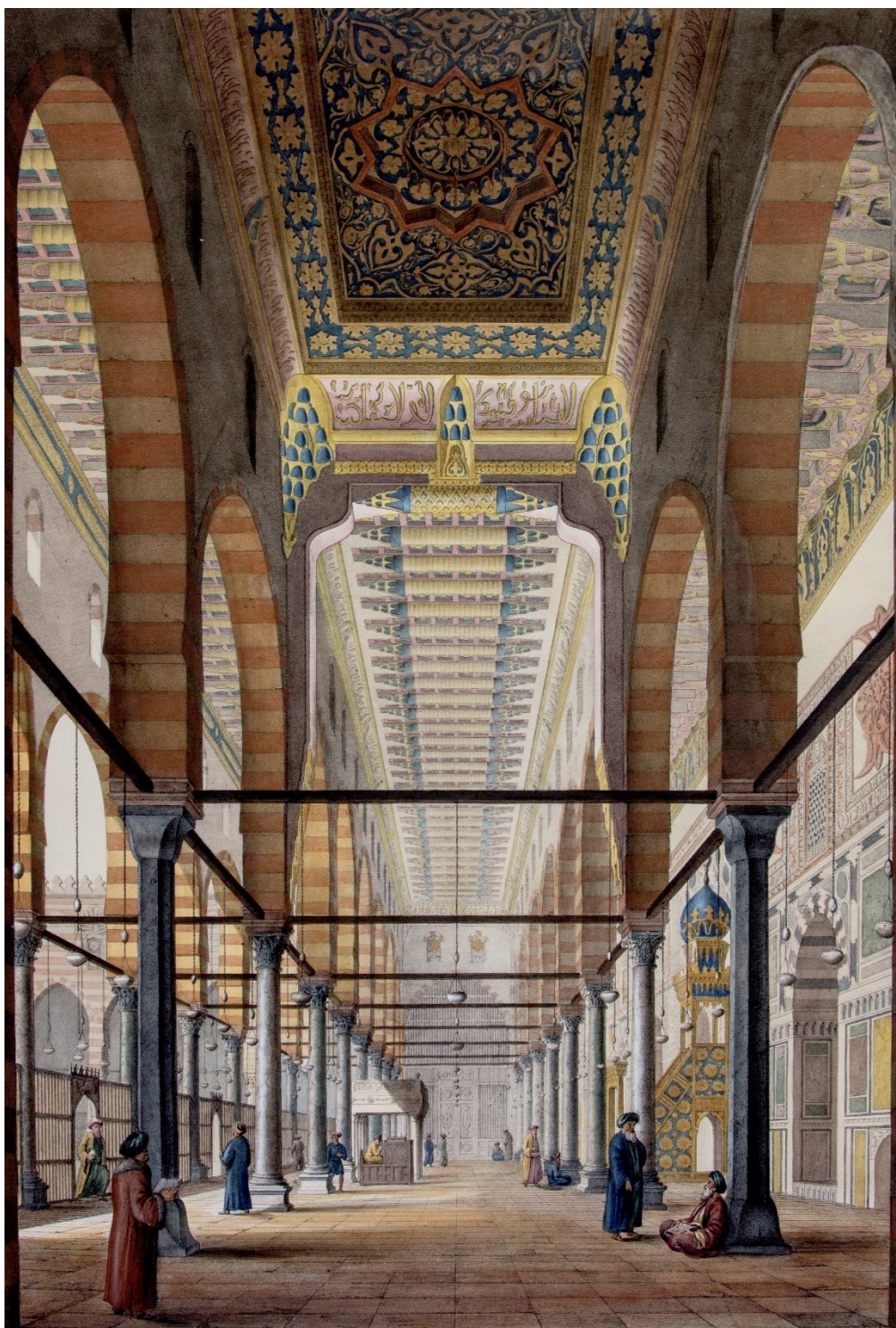


Figure 77: Vue du sanctuaire de la mosquée el-Moyed (lithograph before 1839) (after *Architecture arabe, ou, monuments du Kaire*). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



Figure 78: A photograph showing the qibla iwan of the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh without the wooden maqsura (photo from the personal collection of Creswell before the 20th century). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.

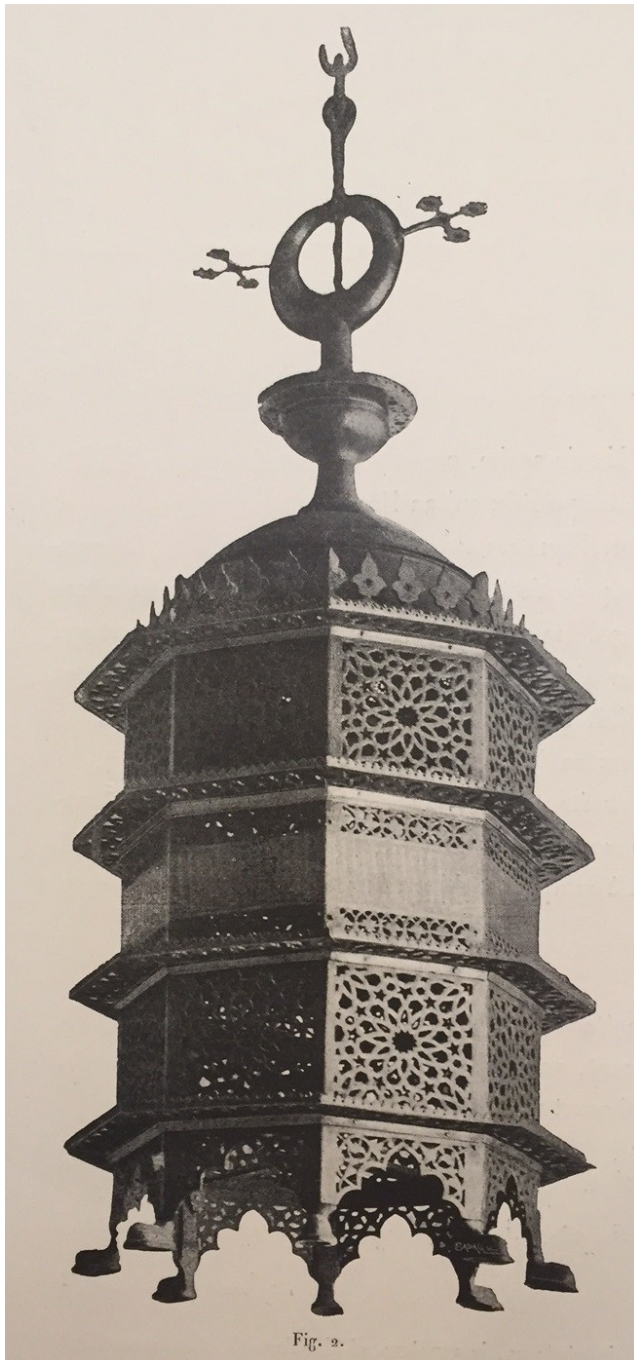


Figure 79: A photograph showing the bronze chandelier of the mosque of Sultan Hasan displayed in the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad (photo before 1899) (after *La mosquée du Sultan Hassan au Caire*). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



Figure 80: Vue intérieure de la mosquée el-Moyed (lithograph before 1839) (after *Architecture arabe, ou, monuments du Kaire*). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



Figure 81: Detail showing the chandelier displayed in the sanctuary of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (lithograph before 1839) (after *Architecture arabe, ou, monuments du Kaire*). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.

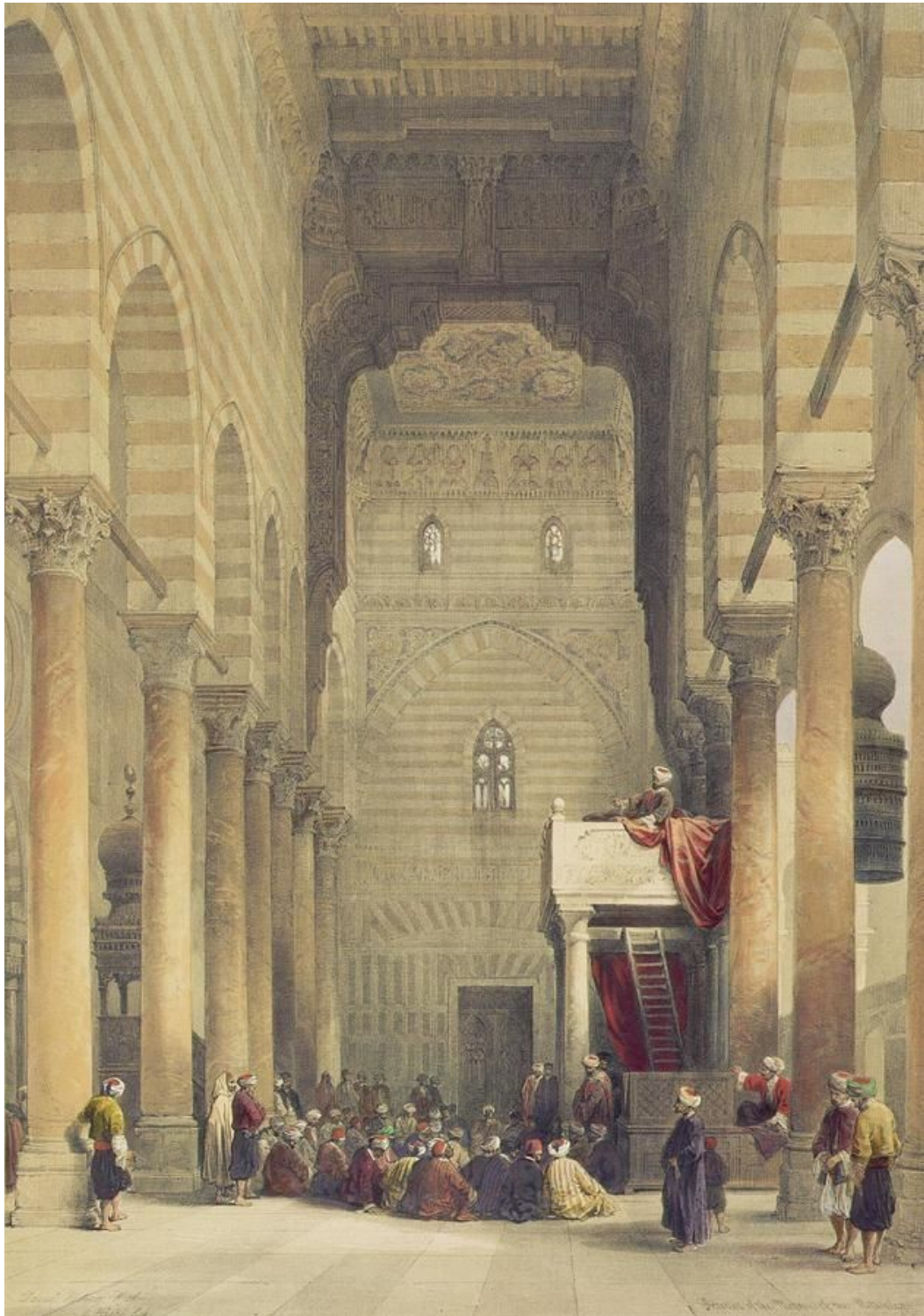


Figure 82: Interior of the Mosque of the Metwalys, Cairo (lithograph before 1846) (after *Egypt and Nubia*, vol. 3).

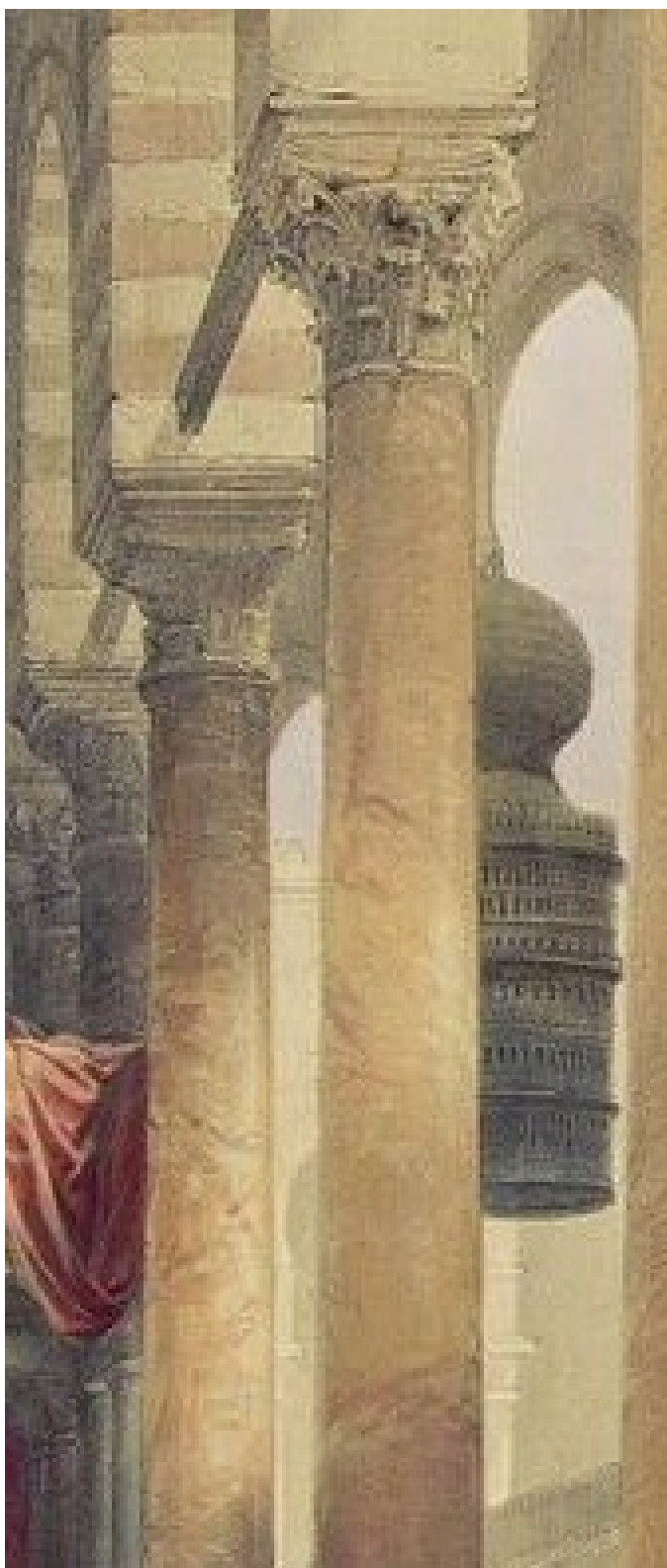


Figure 83: Detail showing the chandelier displayed in the sanctuary of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (lithograph before 1846) (after *Egypt and Nubia*, vol. 3).



Figure 84: Gérôme, *The Prisoner*, 1861. Museum of Fine Arts, Nantes.



Figure 85: Gérôme, *The Excursion of the Harem*, 1869. The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk.



Figure 86: Gérôme, Prayer in the Mosque of 'Amr, 1872. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 87: A photograph showing the sanctuary of the Mosque of 'Amr in Fustat (photo from the personal collection of Creswell before the 20th century). Courtesy of the Rare Books and the Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



Figure 88: A photograph showing the detail of the Corinthian capitals and the wooden beams in the sanctuary of the mosque of 'Amr (photo from the personal collection of Creswell before the 20th century). Courtesy of the Rare Books and the Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



Figure 89: Detail of the sanctuary showing the mihrab and part of the minbar (Prayer at the Mosque of ‘Amr)



Figure 90: Gérôme, *The Call to Prayer*, 1866. Joslyn Art Museum, Gift of Francis T. B. Martin.



Figure 91: Gérôme, *The Call to Prayer*, 1879-80. Private Collection, Houston, Texas.

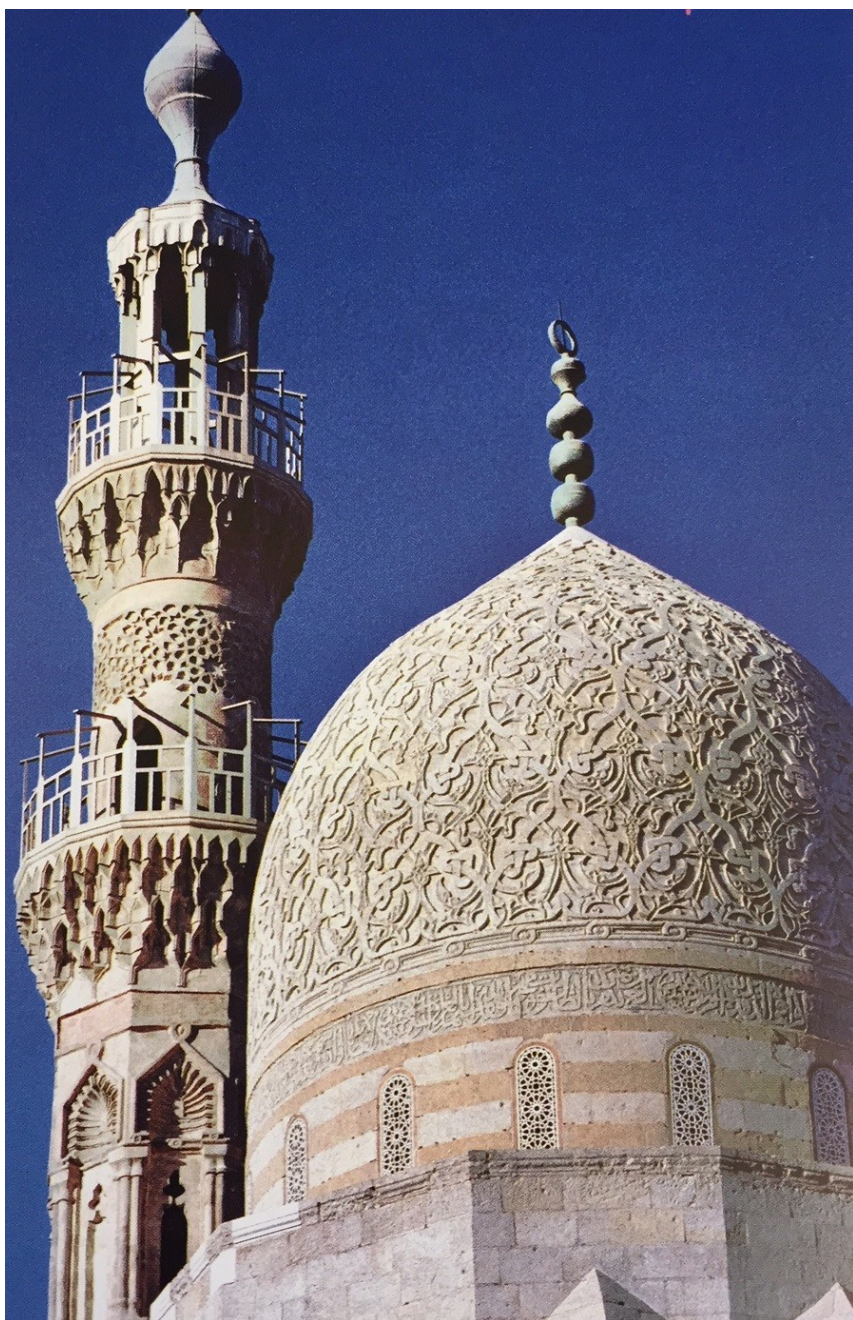


Figure 92: A recent photo showing the present-day dome and minaret of Amir Khayrbak.



Figure 93: The dome and the minaret of Amir Khayrbak in Cairo (lithograph before 1877) (after *L'art arabe*, vol. 1). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.

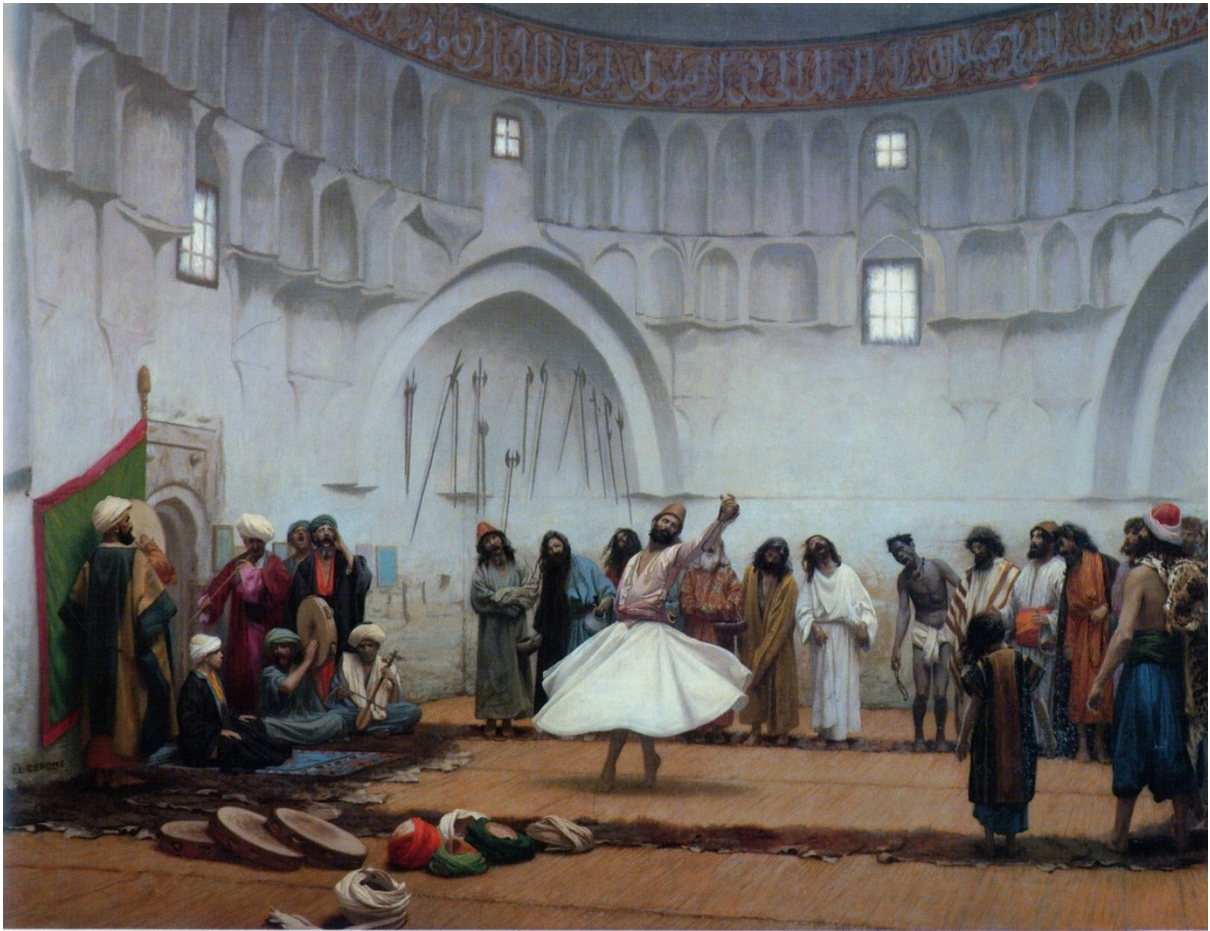


Figure 94: Gérôme, *The Whirling Dervishes*, 1899. Private Collection, Qatar.

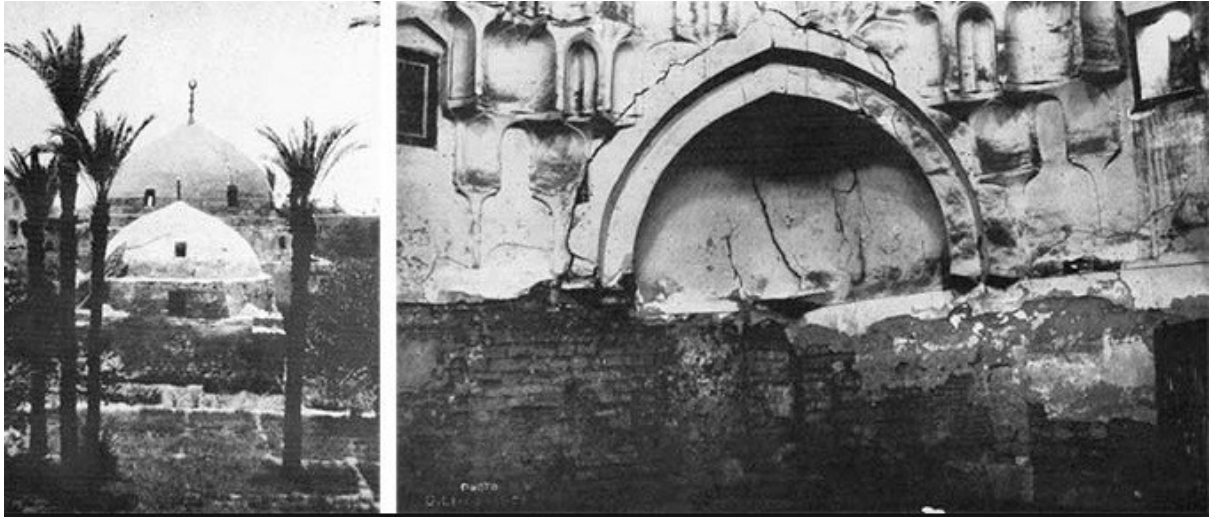


Figure 95: exterior and interior views of the Tekke of Qasr al-'Ayni in Cairo (photo before early 20th century by Eliot Porter) (after "Jean-Léon Gérôme. Whirling Dervish," in Middlebury College Museum of Art).



Figure 96: Goodall, Sheikh Distributing Alms, 1865. Private Collection.



Figure 97: Detail showing the portal and the sabil-kuttab (Sheikh Distributing Alms).



Figure 98: Detail showing the minaret (Sheikh Distributing Alms).

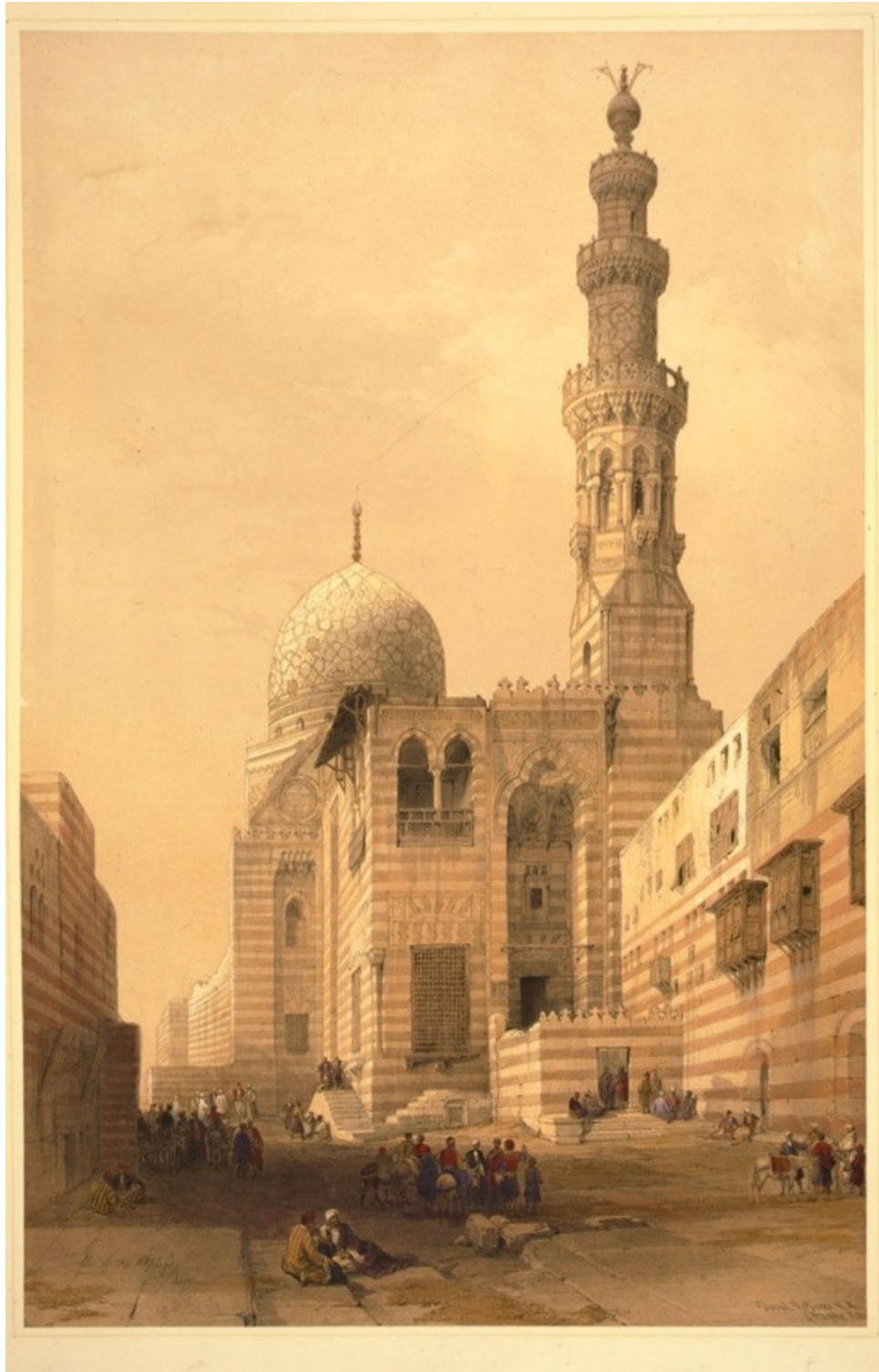
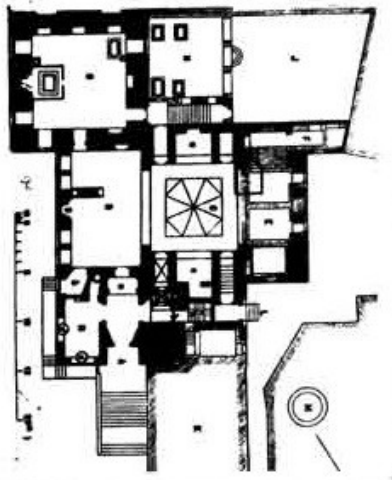


Figure 99: Tombs of the Caliphs in Cairo (lithograph before 1846) (after *Egypt and Nubia*, vol. 3).

Fig. 1.



Pl. 1.



MOSQUÉE FUNÉRAIRE DU SULTAN KAITBAI AU DÉSERT
(TOMBEAUX DES KHALIFES).

FIG. 1. PLAN. — FIG. 2. VUE D'APRÈS UNE ANCIENNE PHOTOGRAPHIE.

Figure 100: The complex of Qaytbay without any domes or minarets beyond (photo before 1897) (after BCCMAA).

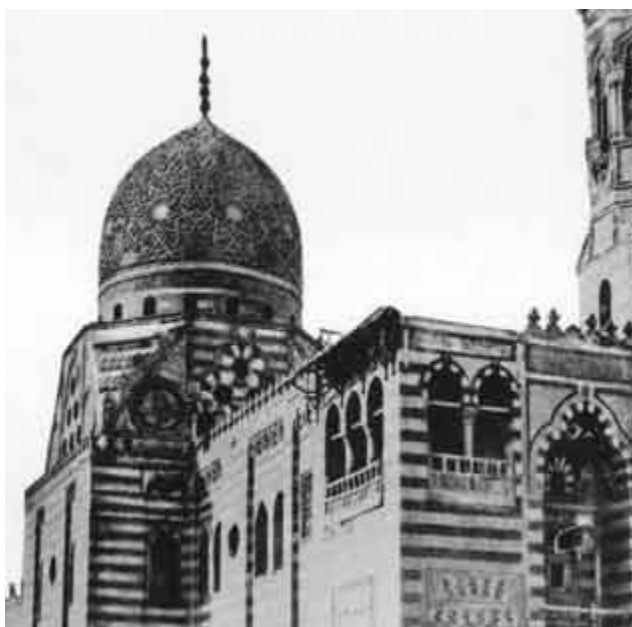
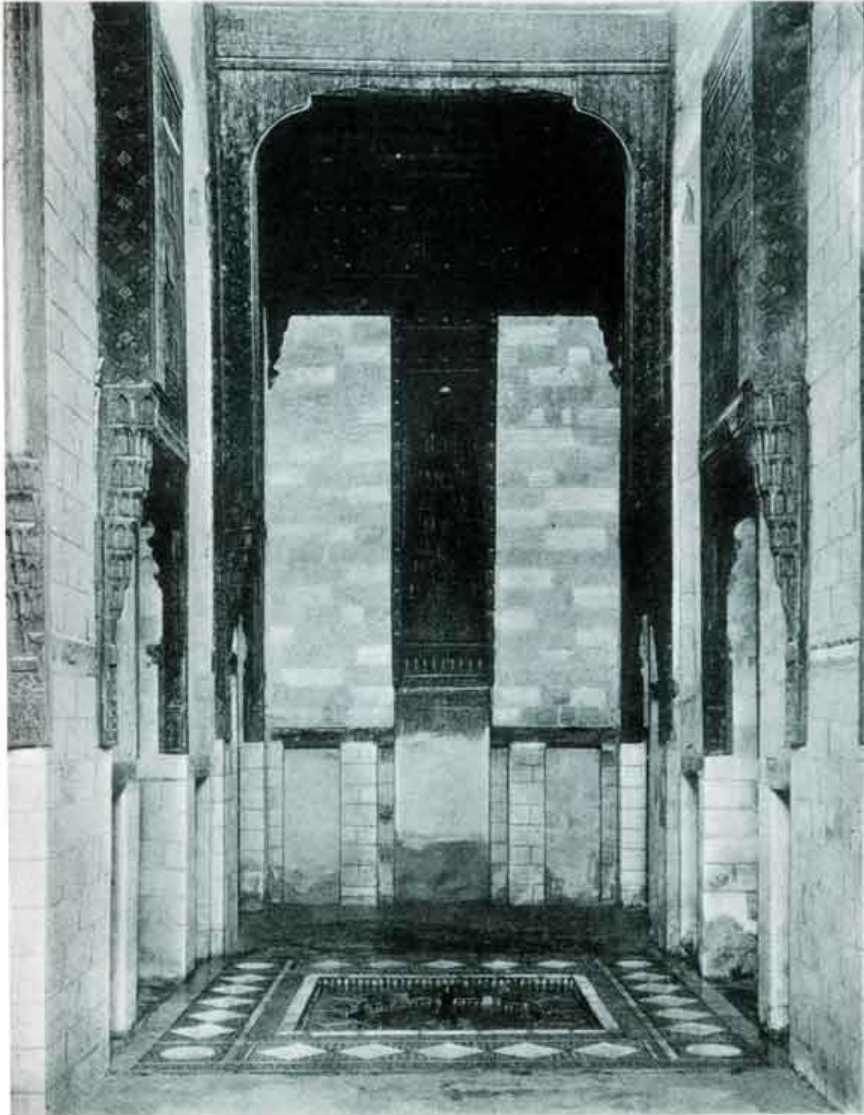


Figure 101: Detail showing the dome, the portal, the minaret and the sabil-kuttab (photo before 1897) (after the *BCCMAA*).



Maison d'Amna bint Sâlim : La Salle Farouk

Figure 102: The reception hall of the house of Amna bint Salim (photo before 1941) (after *BCCMAA*).



IMMEUBLE WAKF OSMAN KATKHODA. — CAIRE.
Vue de la Salle.

Figure 103: The reception hall of the waqf building of 'Usman Katkhuda (photo before 1913) (after *BCCMAA*).



Figure 104: The reception hall of the palace of the Musafirkhana (photo before 1915-19) (after *BCCMAA*).

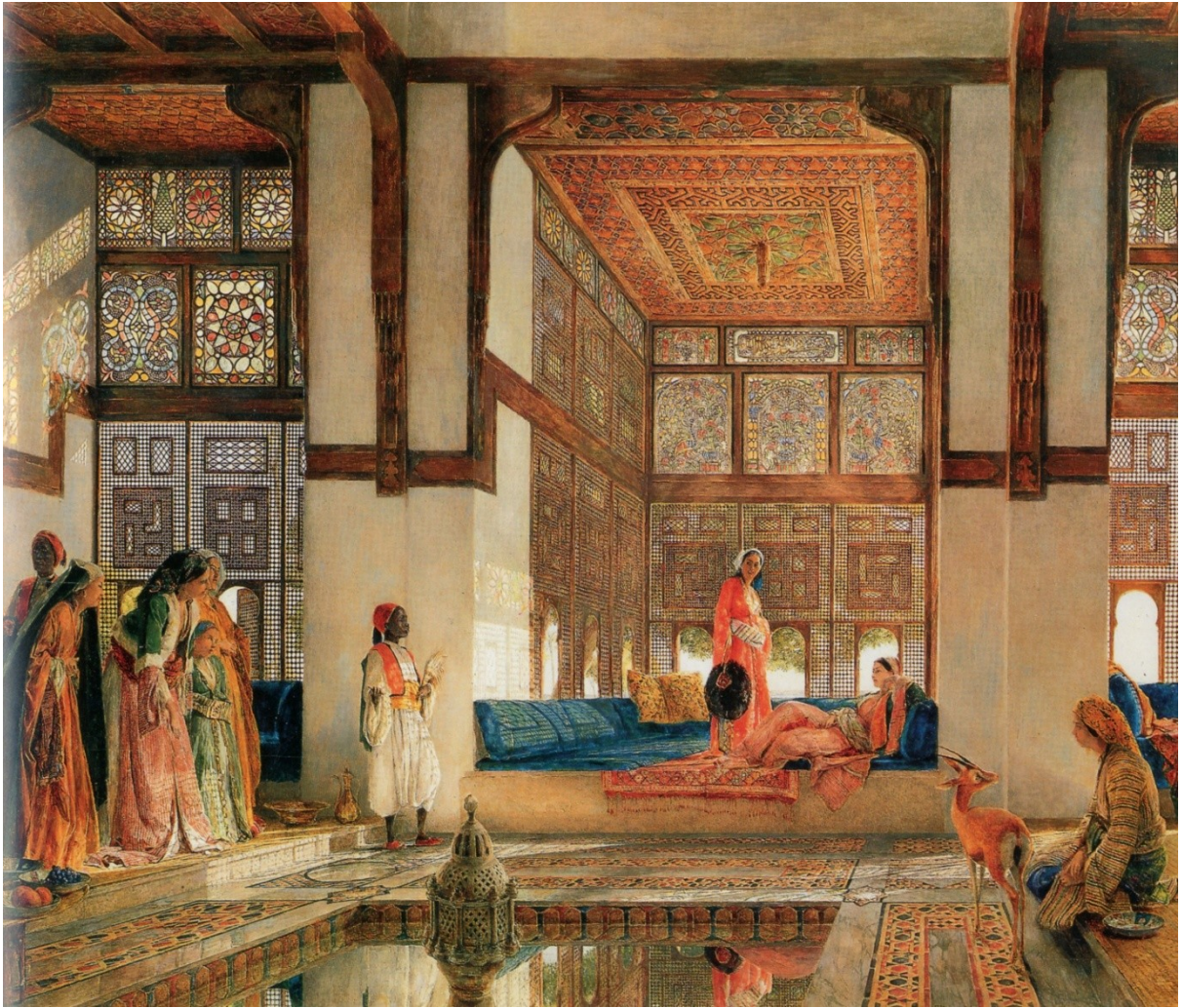


Figure 105: Lewis, *The Reception*, 1873. Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut.

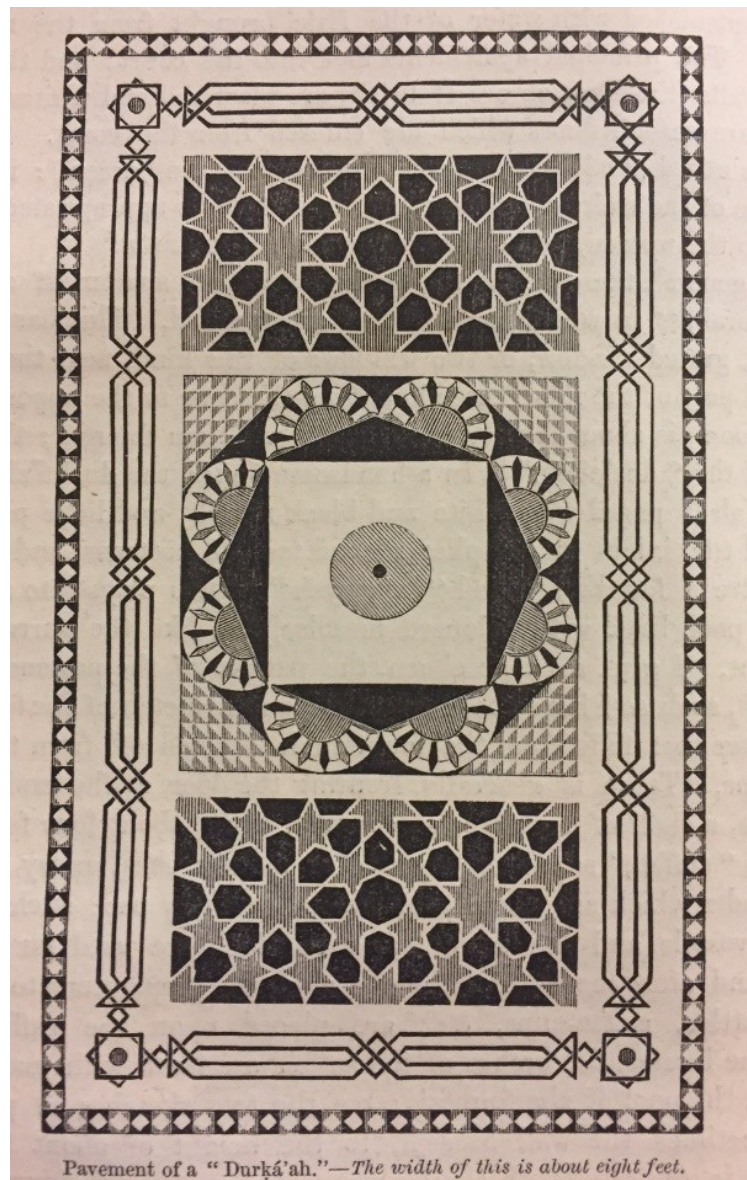


Figure 106: A pavement of the durqa'a and a polylobed fountain (illustration before 1860) (after *An Account of the Manners and Customs*).

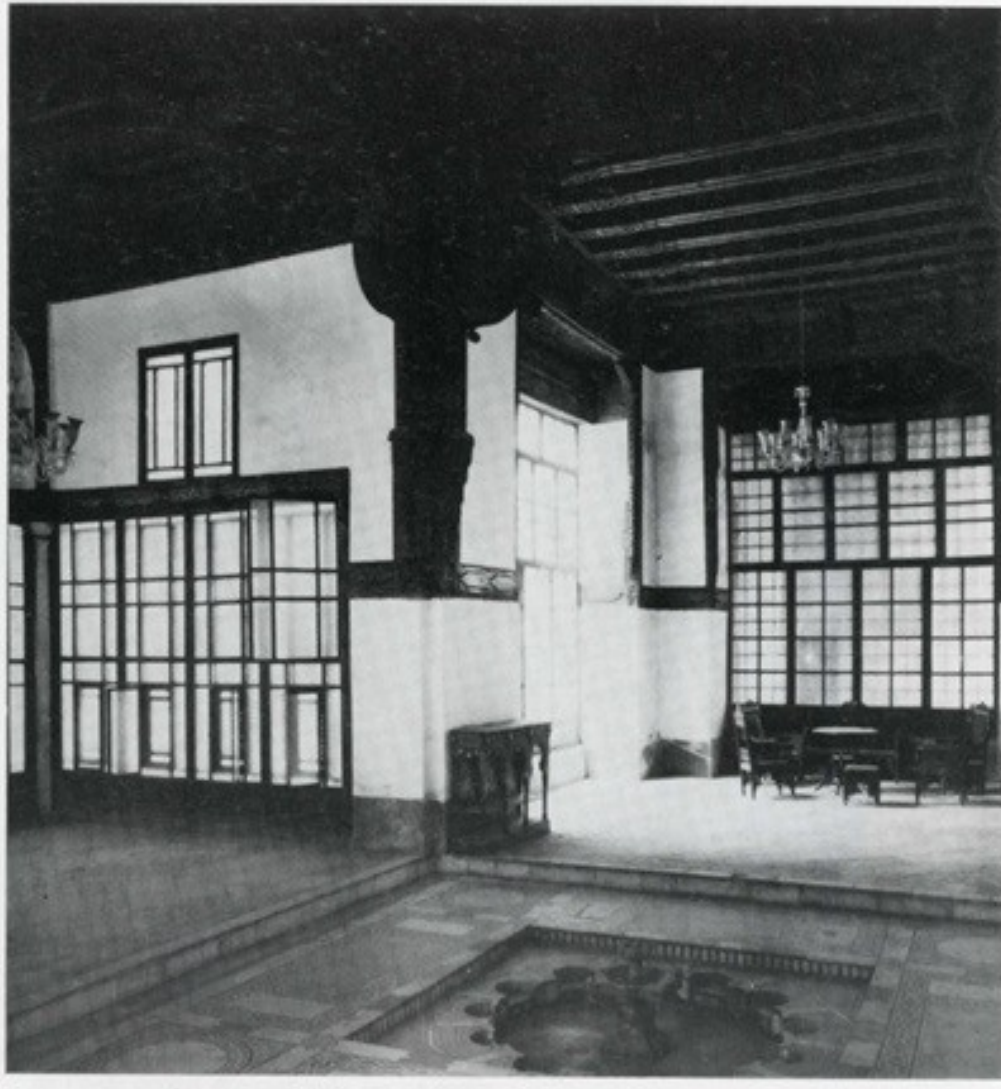


Figure 107: The basin and the polylobed fountain in the qa'a of the palace of the Musafirkhana (photo before 1979) (after *Palais et maisons du Caire*, vol. 3).

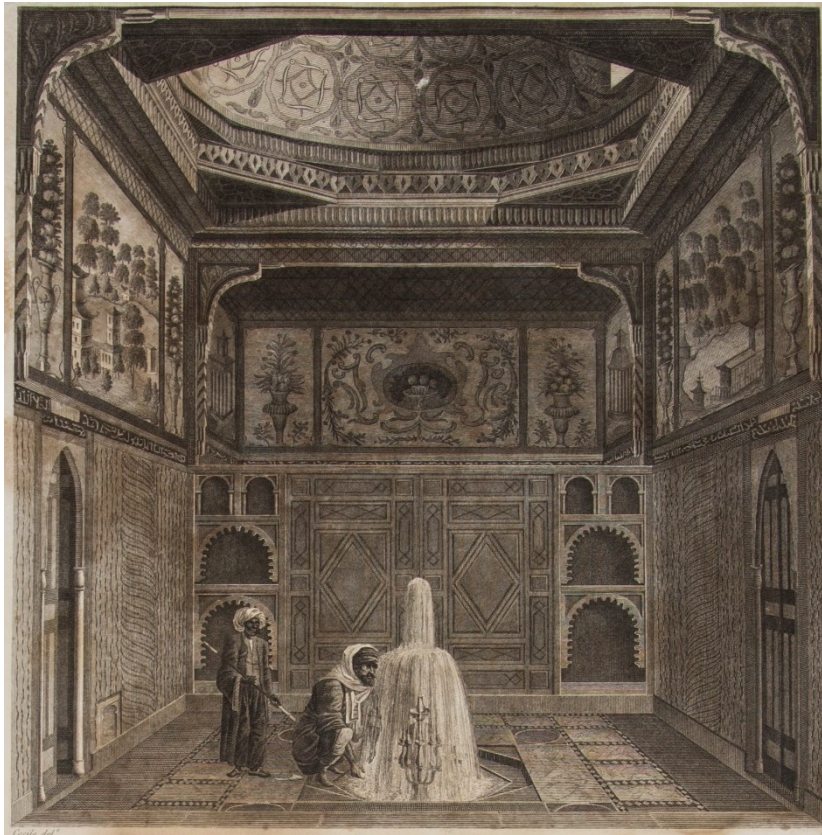


Figure 108: The fountain in the qa'a of the house of Sulayman Agha (lithograph before 1809) (after *La description de l'Egypte, état moderne*, vol. 1). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.

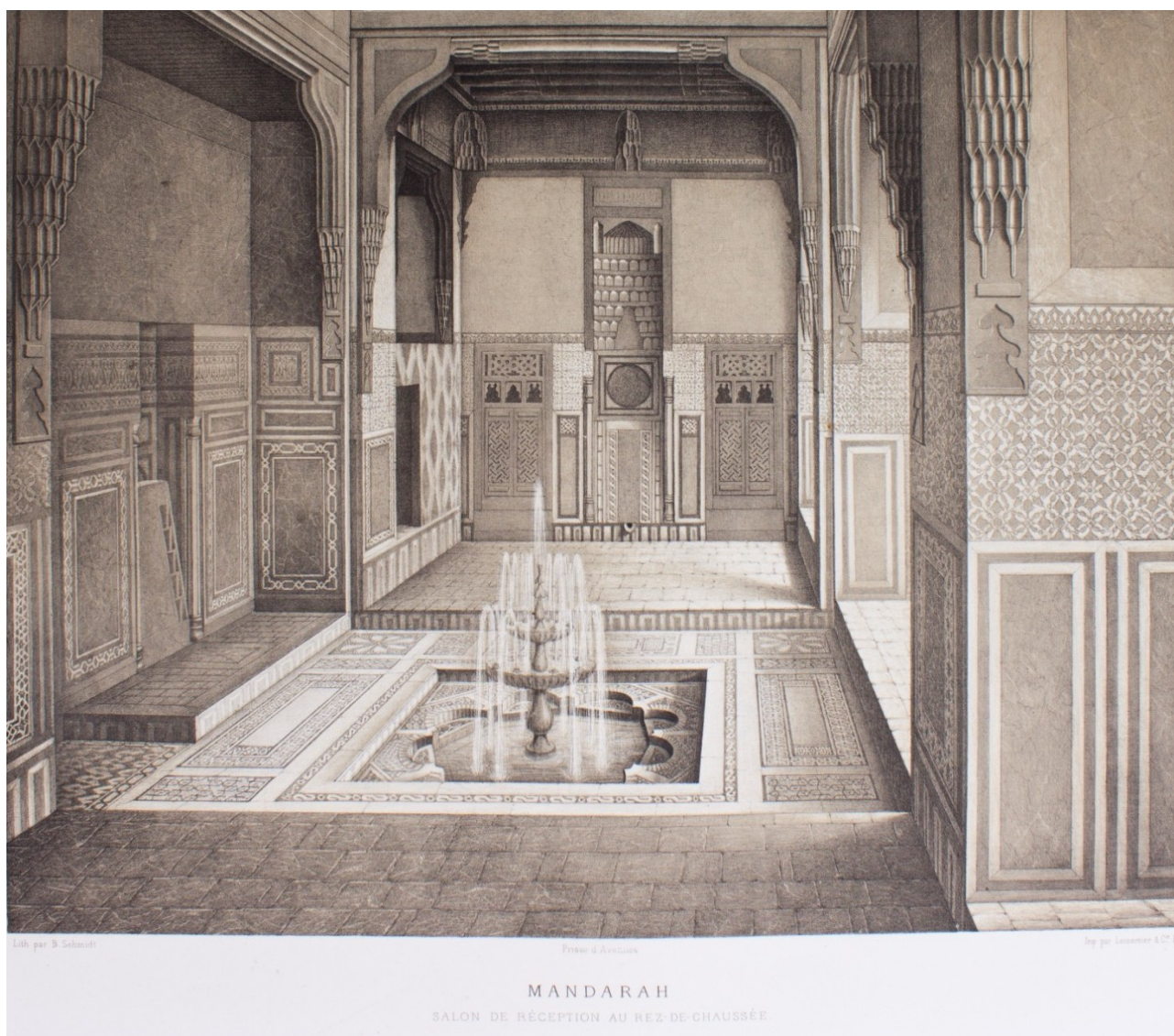


Figure 109: A mandara on the ground floor (lithograph before 1877) (after *L'art arabe*, vol. 3). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.

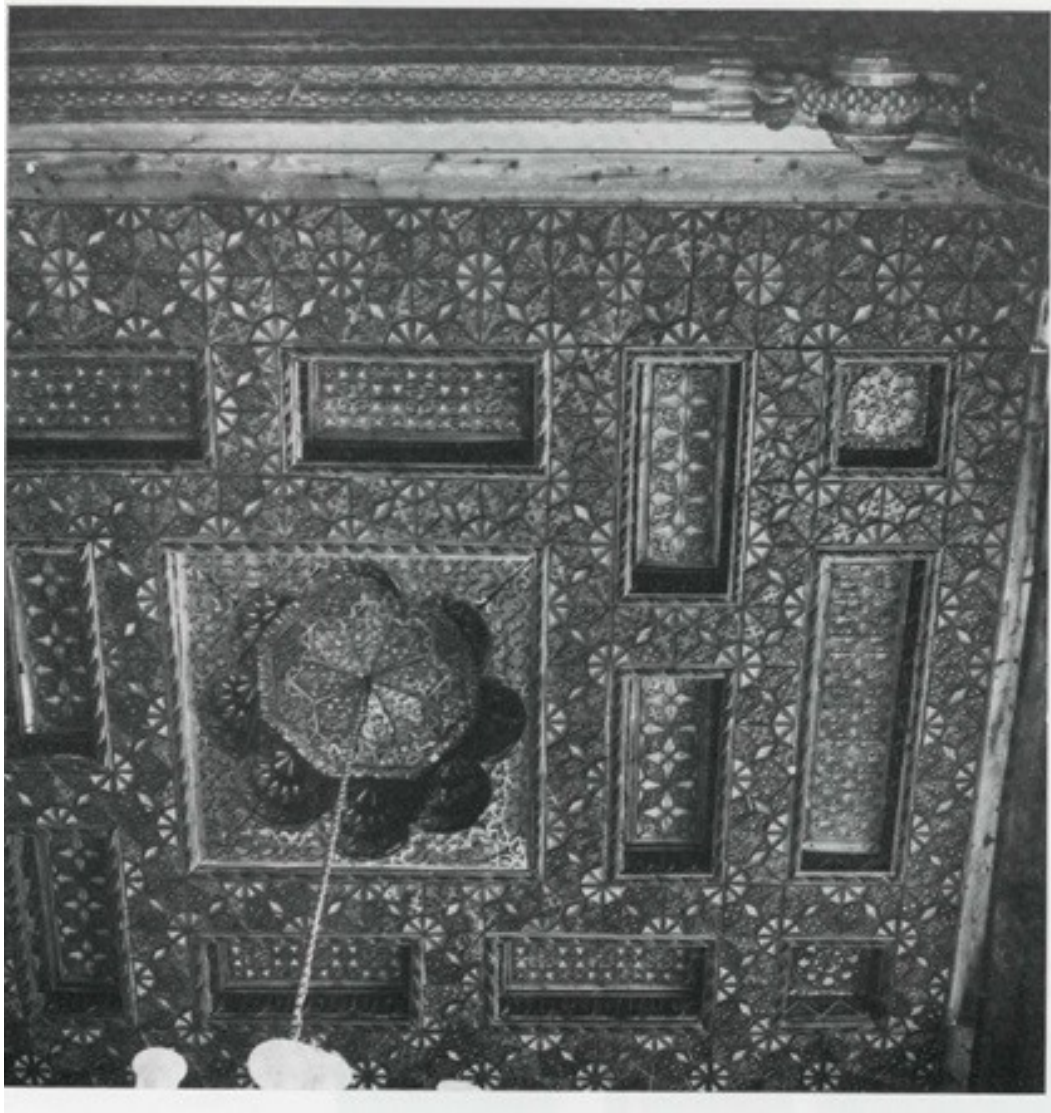


Figure 110: The carved and painted wooden ceiling of the salamlik of the Musafikhana Palace (photo before 1979) (after *Palais et maisons du Caire*, vol. 3).



Figure 111: View of the house of Osman Bey (lithograph before 1809) (after *La description de l'Egypte, état moderne*, vol. 1). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



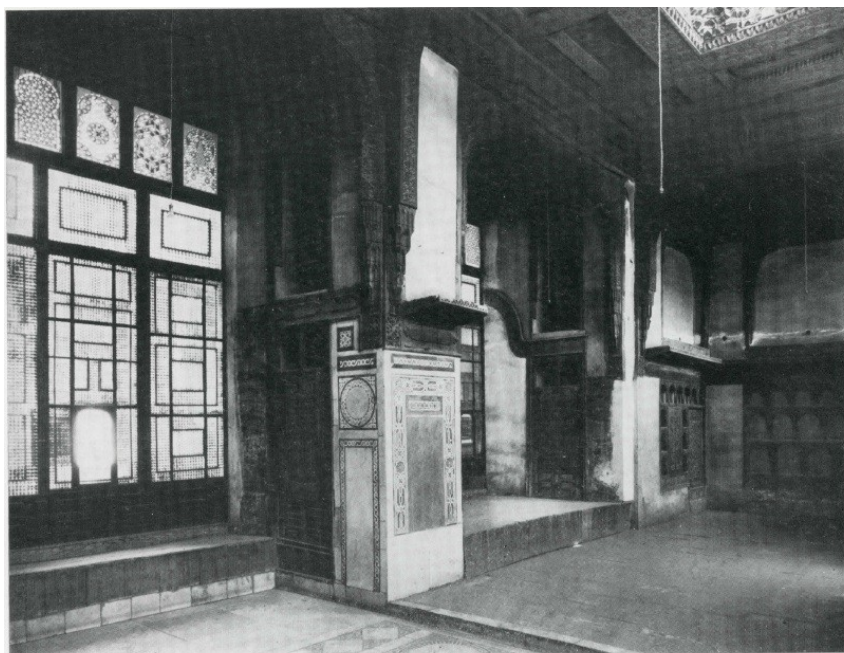
Figure 112: View of the palace of Qasim Bey (lithograph before 1809) (after *La description de l'Egypte, état moderne*, vol. 1). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



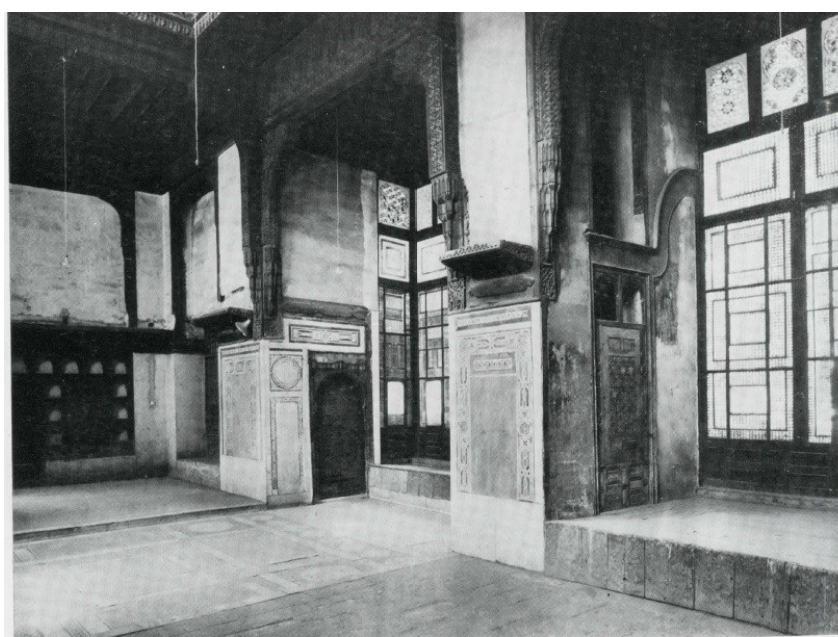
Figure 113: Upstairs salon of the house of Sidi Yusuf Adami (lithograph before 1877) (after *L'art arabe*, vol. 3).
 Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



Figure 114: Room for the wet-nurse of the house of Sidi Yusuf Adami (lithograph before 1877) (after *L'art arabe*, vol. 3). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



A. — Palais al-Musāfirhāna : Grande *qā'a* (côté Nord-Est) : de part et d'autre de l'*iwān* Est, des portes permettaient de communiquer avec les principaux appartements privés.



B. — Palais al-Musāfirhāna : Grande *qā'a* (côté Nord-Ouest) : divisée en deux parties par un pilier massif, la grande *maṣrabiya* surplombant la cour forme des alcôves spacieuses. On les garnissait jadis, comme les *iwān*, de tapis, divans et coussins. A droite, porte d'accès entre *durqā'a* et antichambre.

Figure 115: Partial views of the lanterns of the harem of the Musafirkhana Palace (photo before 1979) (after *Palais et maisons du Caire*, vol. 3).

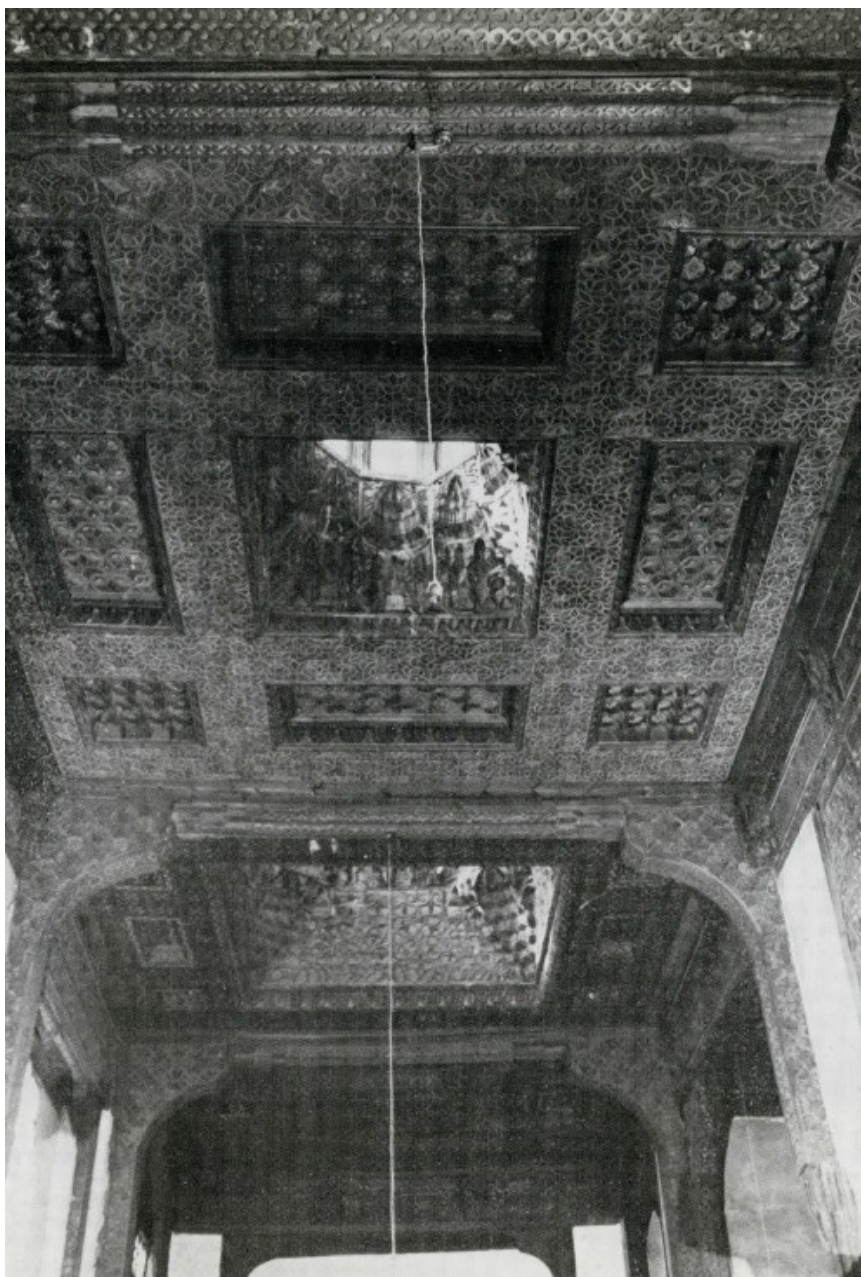


Figure 116: The lanterns of the harem of the Musafirkhana Palace (photo before 1979) (*Palais et maisons du Caire*, vol. 3)



Figure 117: A reception hall, probably in the harem, of the house of Hasan Kashif (lithograph before 1809) (after *La description de l’Egypte, état moderne*, vol. 1). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



Figure 118: Detail of the mashrabiyya and the colored-glass windows (lithograph before 1809) (after *La description de l’Egypte, état moderne*, vol. 1). Courtesy of the Rare Books and Special Collections Library, the American University in Cairo.



Figure 119: Detail of the colored-glass windows (The Reception).



Figure 120: The marble dado in one of the rooms of the harem of the Musafirkhana palace (photo before 1985 by Nasser Rabbat) (after *Archnet*).

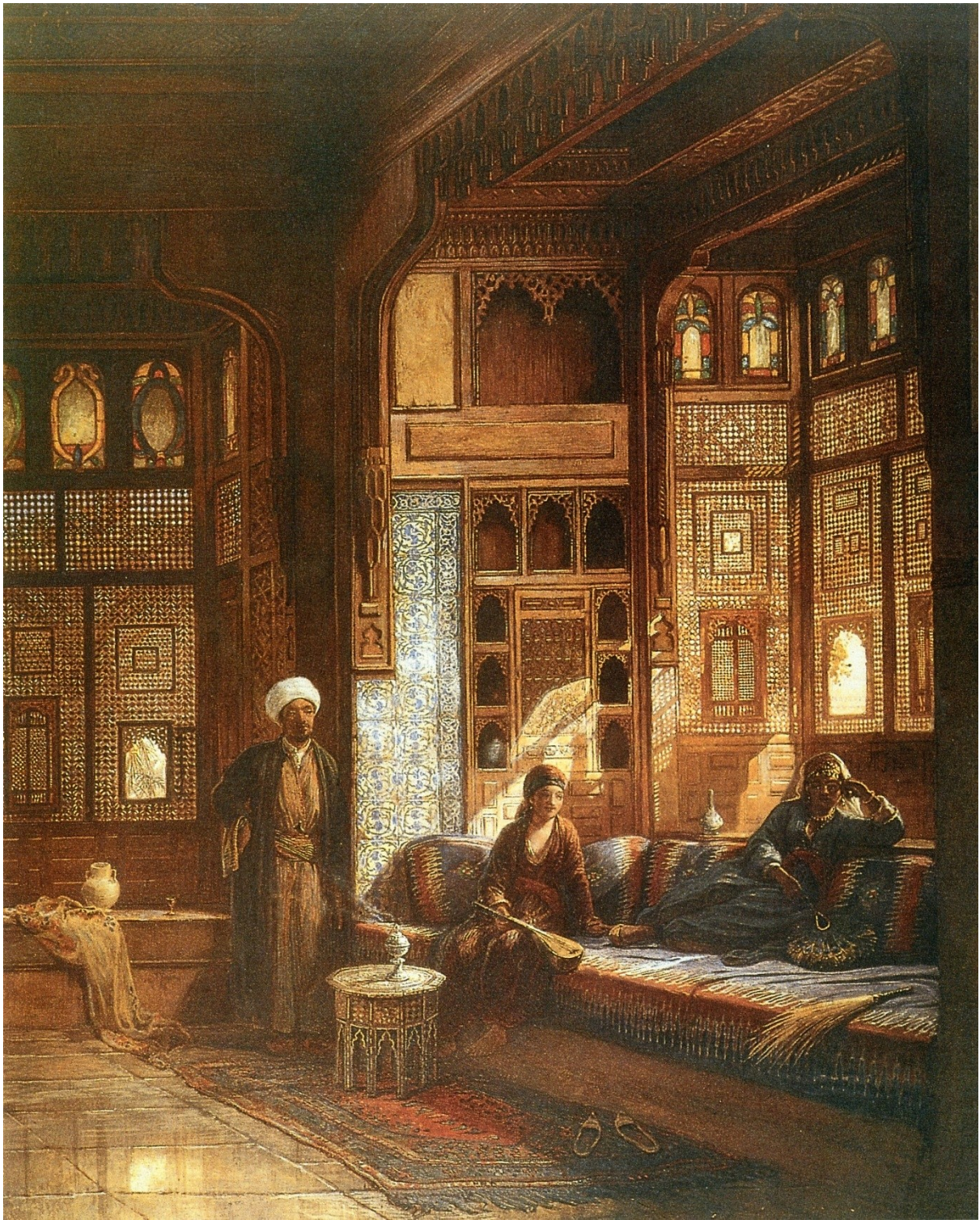


Figure 121: Dillon, The K'al, or Qa'a in the Harem of Sheikh Sadat, 19th century. Searight Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

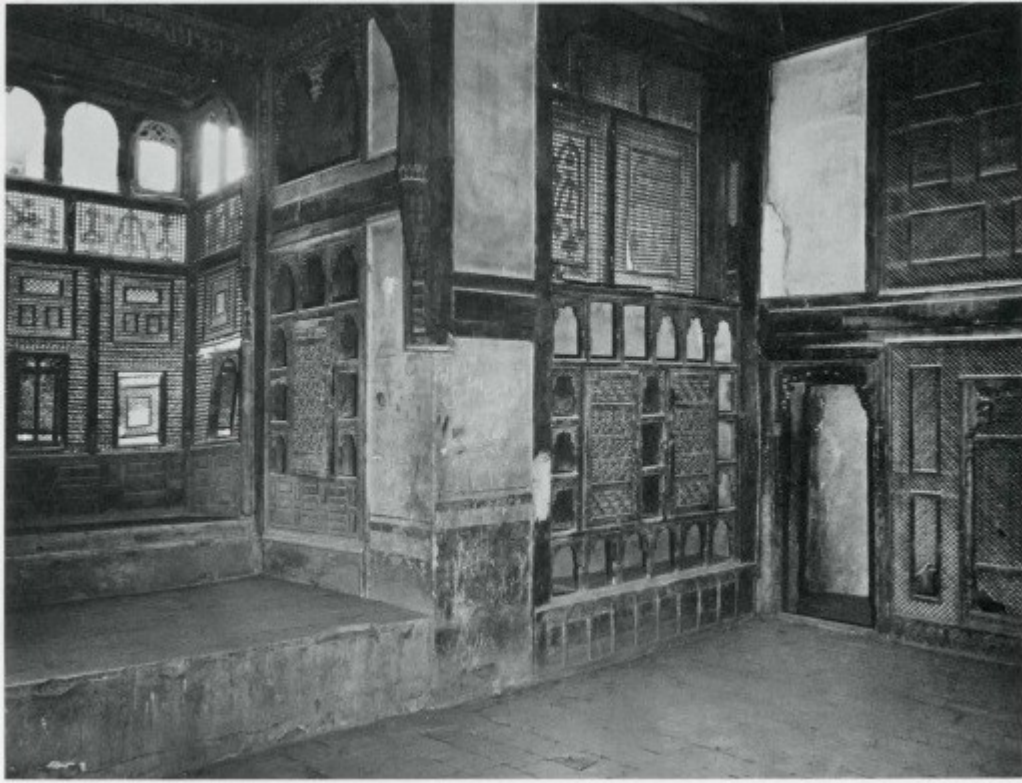


Figure 122: The endangered status of the mashrabiyyas and the broken colored-glass windows (photo before 1983) (*Palais et maisons du Caire*, vol. 2).



Figure 123: The conserved mashrabiyyas, the color-glass windows, the wooden built-in cupboards and the pavement (photo before 2017 by Heba Sheta).



Figure 124: Detail showing the Ottoman tiles (The K'al, or qa'a in the Harem of Sheikh Sadat).

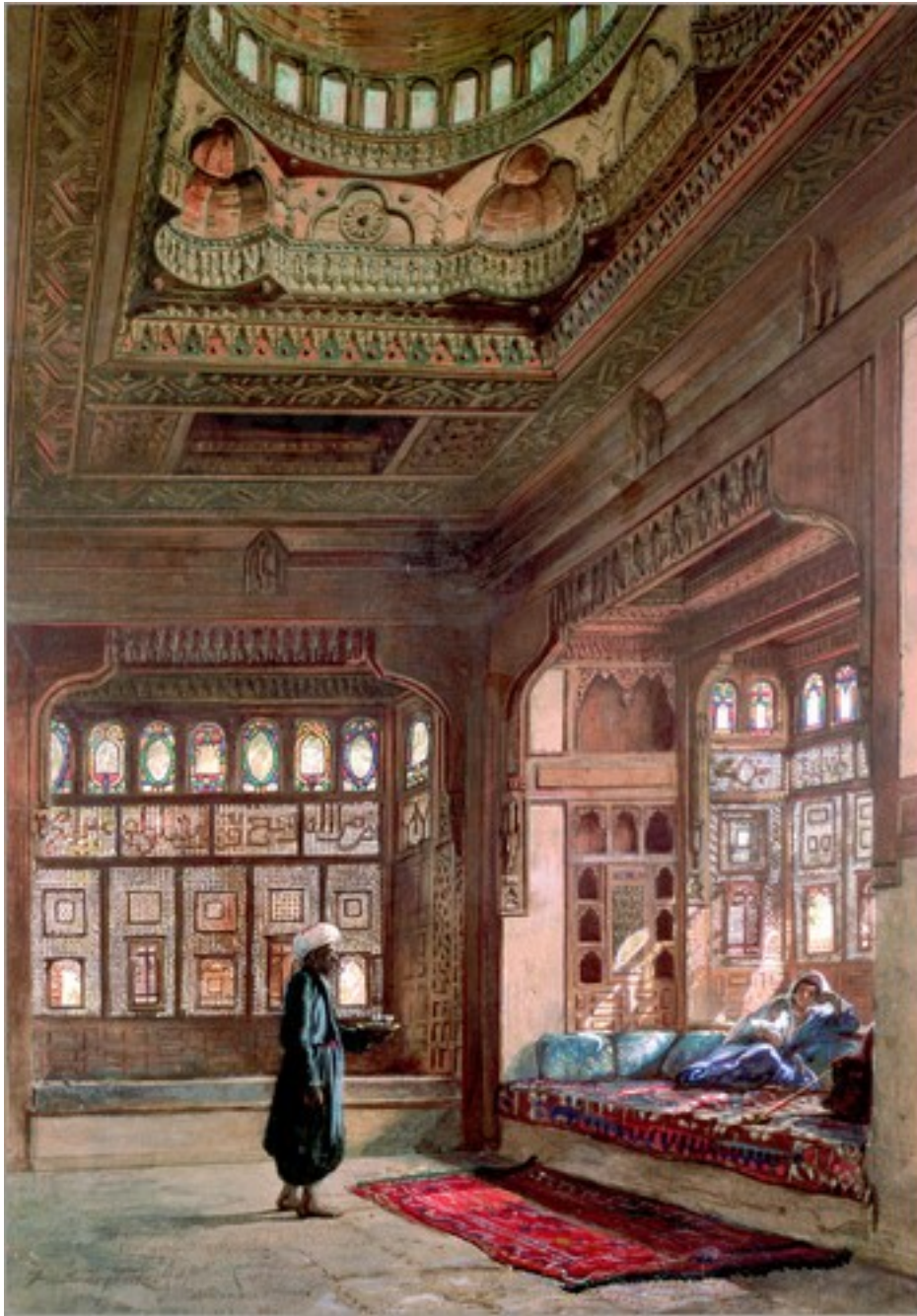


Figure 125: Dillon, *The Harem of Sheikh Sadat*, 1870. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

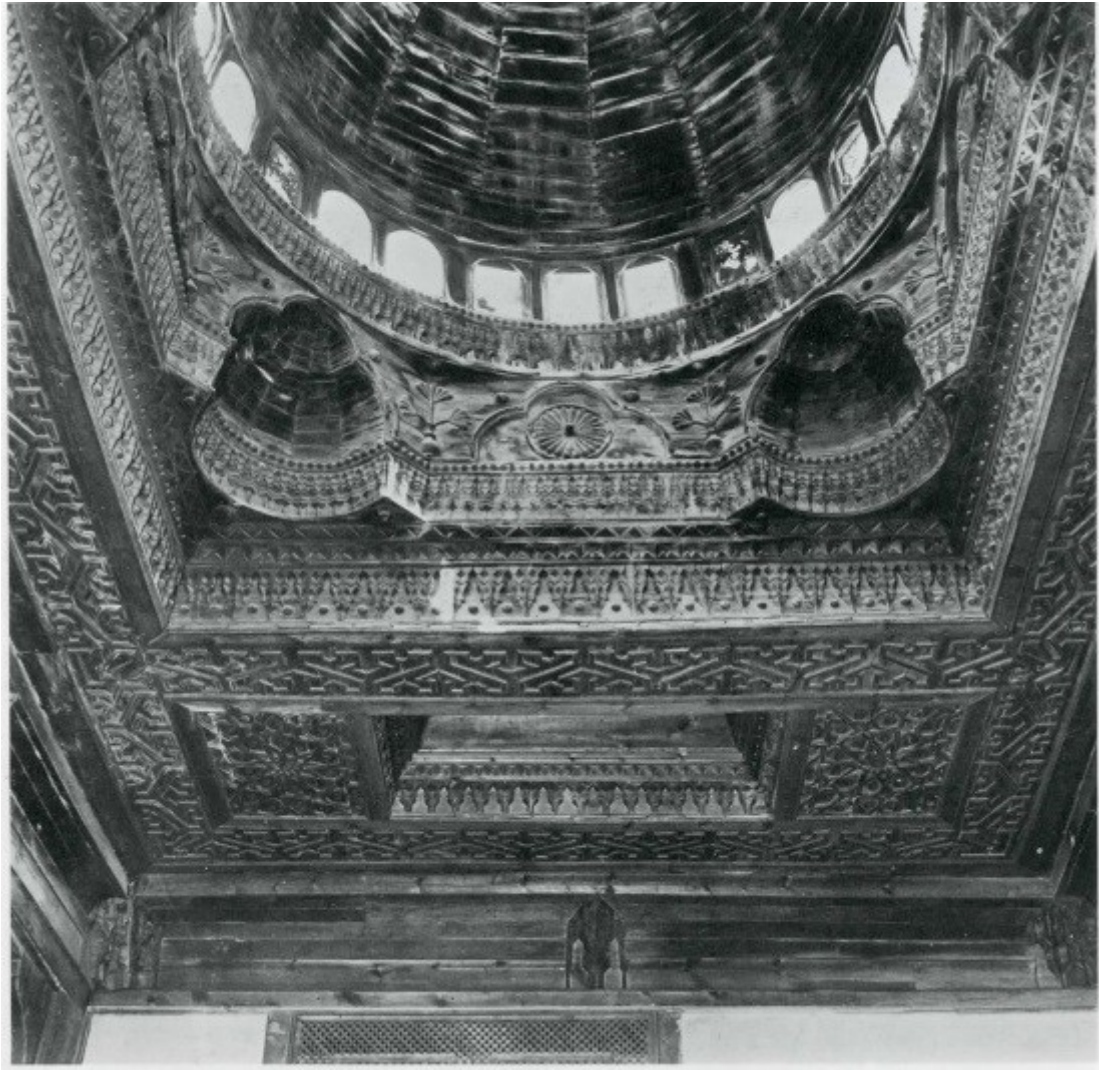


Figure 126: The lantern in the harem of the house of Sheikh al-Sadat (photo before 1983) (after *Palais et maisons, l'époque Ottomane*, vol. 2).



Figure 127: The lantern in the harem of the house of Sheikh al-Sadat (photo before 2017 by Heba Sheta).



Figure 128: Marinelli, The Dance of the Nahleh, or the Wasp, 1862. National Museum of Capodimonte, Naples.